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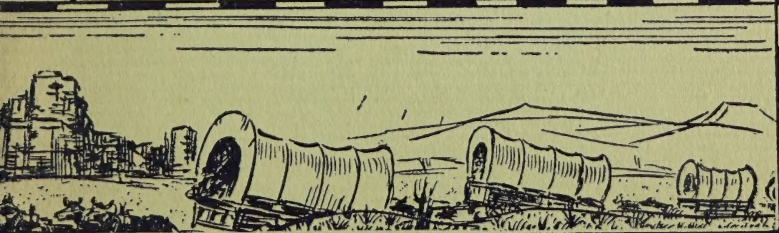
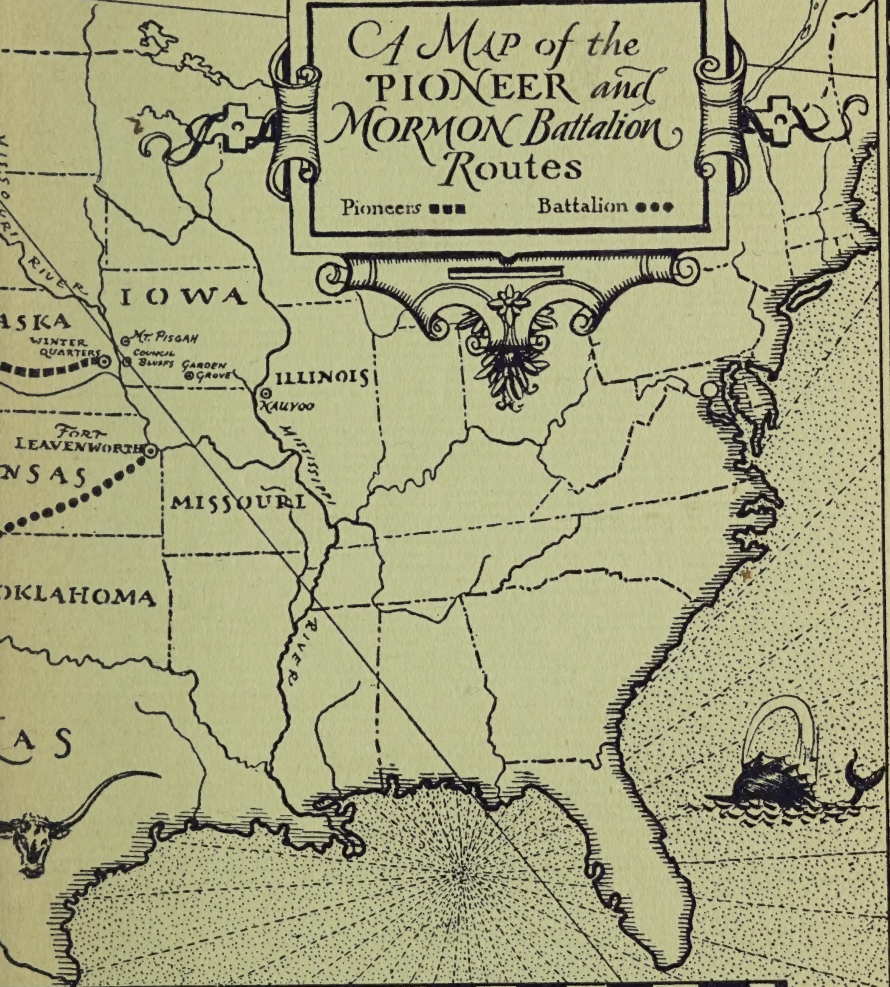


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A Map of the PIONEER and MORMON Battalion Routes

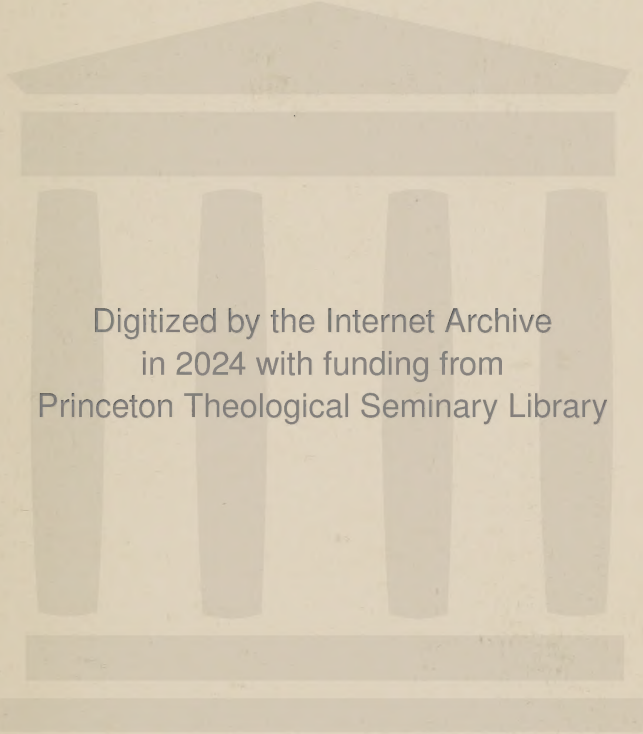
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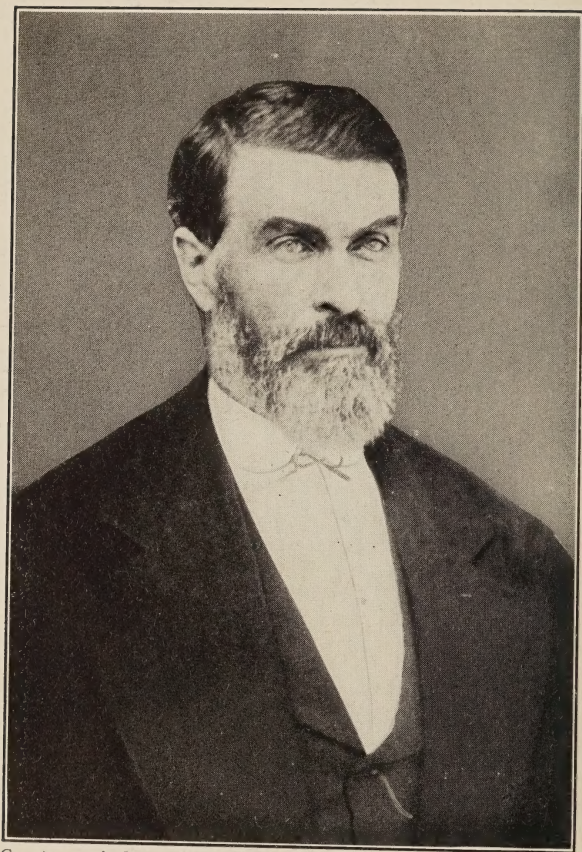




**THE MARCH OF
THE MORMON BATTALION**



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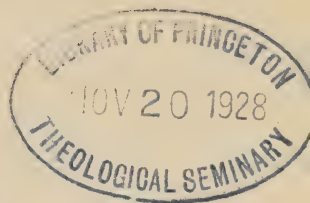
Courtesy of Jas. H. McClintock

HENRY STANDAGE

THE MARCH OF THE MORMON BATTALION

From Council Bluffs to California

*Taken from the Journal
of
HENRY STANDAGE*



BY

FRANK ALFRED GOLDER

IN COLLABORATION WITH

THOMAS A. BAILEY AND J. LYMAN SMITH



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PREFACE

WHILE teaching in Arizona some years ago I came across the journal of Captain Henry Standage. It interested me greatly and I obtained the permission of his descendants, who lived at Mesa, Arizona, to make such use of it as seemed best. After publishing a portion of it in a school paper, I put it aside until such time as I could give it more serious study. Soon after leaving Arizona, I became engaged in other research work and had no time to complete the task begun. About three years ago I learned that one of my students, J. Lyman Smith, was a member of the Church of Latter-day Saints, a direct descendant of a member of the Mormon Battalion and an indirect descendant of the Prophet Joseph Smith. We compared notes and materials, my interest in the Mormon migrations and settlements was revived, and I decided to carry out my old plan of bringing out the journal in book form. Smith promised to help, and another student, Thomas A. Bailey, offered his services, and the three of us agreed to collaborate, Smith to prepare a paper on the early history and organization of the church, Bailey to edit the journal, and I to gather and edit whatever new material came to hand and to supervise the work as a whole.

In carrying out our investigations we consulted the Bancroft Library of the University of California, we

wrote to the War Department, and to the office of the Church Historian at Salt Lake. The gentlemen in charge of these institutions aided us in every possible way and we gratefully acknowledge the courtesies received. We feel that we owe a special debt of gratitude to Messrs. Joseph Fielding Smith and A. William Lund of the office of the Church Historian both for the numerous copies of documents which they made and for helpful suggestions.

F. A. GOLDER

*Stanford University, California,
September 1, 1927.*

INTRODUCTION

IN his edition of the "March of the Mormon Battalion," by Henry Standage, one of the volunteers, Professor Golder has done a real service to American history. Not only has he given this precious contemporary record of a thrilling event to the world, but he has brought together in one book the documents, public and private, connected with that much mooted incident in the annals of our Nation. The bulk of the work, indeed, is in these documents, which are both national and local, and pertain both to Church and State.

The author and compiler is also to be commended for his evident desire to be fair in presenting the subject—one frequently distorted by would-be historians and romancers. Professor Golder has scouted fiction and presented facts.

The story of the Battalion is introduced by a historical sketch of the rise and progress of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, down to the year 1839, when the Nauvoo period of "Mormon" history begins, leading up to the principal theme presented in these papers. Following that sketch are the Church's Articles of Faith, and a brief setting forth of its organization and government.

An extended bibliography, enumerating the works consulted in the preparation of this volume, gives evidence of the author's intention to be impartial, to bring both sides of the question into court, and to al-

low each to speak for itself. None but ribald productions of writers whose only purpose was to defame the Latter-day Saints has been barred from the witness stand.

The result is a work that commands respect and can be read with interest and pleasure by all who desire trustworthy information upon the subject here treated. As a contribution to American history the importance of this journal of Henry Standage will not be overlooked. For, as Professor Golder points out, this Mormon Battalion was among the first of the United States troops to carry the American flag from the Mississippi to the Pacific Coast.

REED SMOOT

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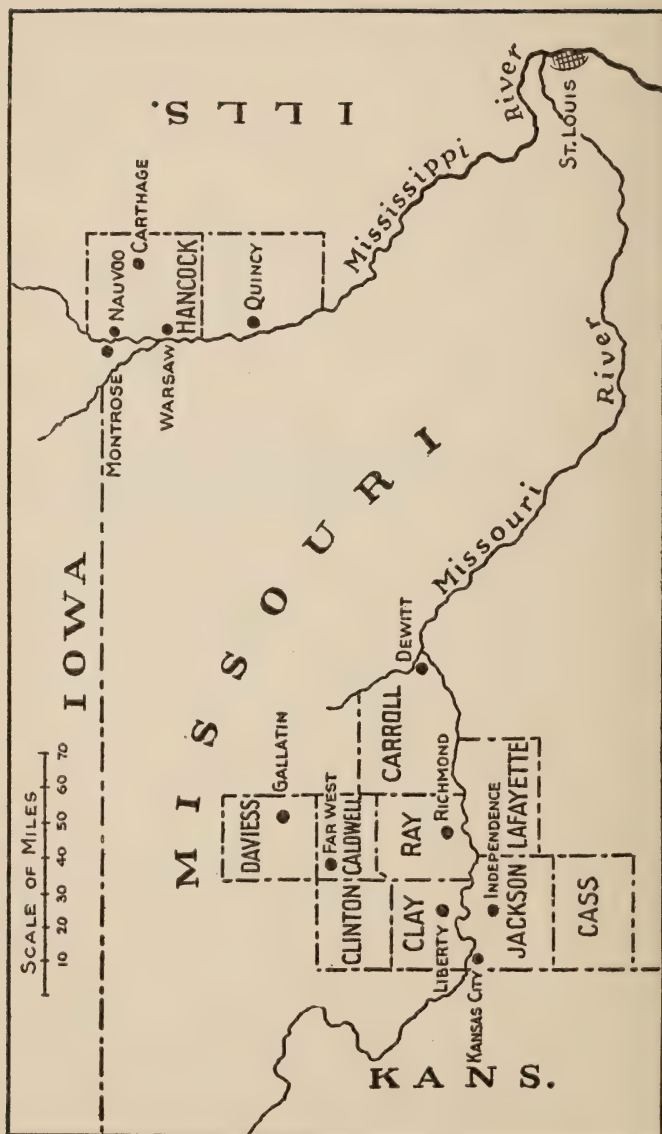
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The March of the Mormon Battalion



MORMON SETTLEMENTS IN MISSOURI AND ILLINOIS

THE HISTORY AND ORGANIZATION OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS TO 1839

THE great Puritan emigration of the seventeenth century carried within it the seeds of new institutional life, religious as well as political. This was to be expected, since the movement had its origin in the dissatisfaction with the religion then dominant in England. Among the earliest of the Puritans to arrive in America was Robert Smith, the ancestor of Joseph Smith the Mormon Prophet. He emigrated from England in 1638 and settled in Rowley (later called Boxford), Essex county, Massachusetts, where he engaged in farming. Quiet and unassuming, he accepted without question the religious ideas common to the community in which he lived. His son, Samuel, moved from the old home at Boxford to Topsfield, Massachusetts, where he supported his family by farming and carpentering. The second Samuel was more influential than either of his forebears. He held various offices of trust and responsibility such as a member of the Tea Committee and the Committee of Public Safety. When the Revolutionary War began he shouldered a musket in defense of the liberties of his country and later acted as a delegate to the Provincial Congress at Concord. Asael Smith, fourth in line of descent, was a man whose views on religion

were broad and tolerant. He could not reconcile his understanding of the Bible with the creeds, and, although he had leanings toward the Universalists, he remained for the most part independent of church connections. Because he championed the cause of a persecuted Quaker he brought down upon himself the censure of his home community to such an extent that he left Topsfield and sought an asylum in New Hampshire. It is said that he predicted he would have a descendant who would revolutionize the religious faith of the world.

On his mother's side Joseph Smith was of Scottish descent. The first of the family in America was John Mack, who emigrated from Scotland about 1669. He settled in Salisbury, Massachusetts, but later moved to Lyme, Connecticut. Solomon Mack, the grandfather of the Prophet, fought in the Colonial wars and in the Revolution. His two sons, Jason and Stephen, fought for their country, the latter rising to the rank of captain in the War of 1812. The Macks were a religious people. They believed that God could bless His children through signs and (wonders) miracles. Jason Mack taught "that by faith and prayer the gifts of the Gospel might be enjoyed and that God would manifest his power as he had done anciently in signs and wonders."

The parents of the Prophet Joseph were Joseph Smith, son of Asael Smith, and Lucy Mack Smith, daughter of Solomon Mack. The father of the Prophet was a tall, well-built man, intelligent and sufficiently well educated to enable him to add to the family income by teaching school in the winter months.

He was a deeply religious man and believed in a God who still maintained close relationship with his children by means of dreams. Lucy Mack Smith was an intelligent woman and, considering the time, well educated. Like her husband, she believed in healing by faith and in the possibility of miracles. The two were married in 1796 and began life on the farm at Tunbridge, Vermont.

Joseph Smith, the founder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was born in Sharon, Windsor county, Vermont, December 23, 1805. When he was ten years of age his family moved to Palmyra, New York, where he attended school during the winter months. This was practically all the schooling he had. Between his fourteenth and fifteenth year a series of revivals was held in Manchester. When the people had become thoroughly aroused, the churches began a strenuous campaign for membership. Each church claimed that it alone had the truth. The earnest seekers became confused. Joseph Smith favored the Methodists, while his father's family inclined toward the Presbyterians. Being in doubt, Joseph Smith turned with never-failing confidence to the Bible. Opening the book, he read the inviting paragraph, "If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask of God, that giveth to all *men* liberally, and upbraideth not; and it shall be given him." Accepting the promise literally and with implicit faith, he decided to call upon God for help.

On a beautiful clear day in the early spring of 1820 he went into a small grove near-by to pray aloud, something he had never done before. No sooner had

he begun than he was seized by some strange power which overcame him. He renewed his effort and called upon God for deliverance. When he did so, he saw a pillar of light of exceeding brightness directly over his head. Within the light he distinguished two personages of splendid appearance. One of them pointed to the other and said, "This is my beloved Son, hear Him." Recovering himself sufficiently to ask his perplexing question about the churches, he was astonished to hear that he should join none of them: "They draw near to me with their lips, but their hearts are far from me; they teach for doctrines the commandments of men, having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof." The vision passed and he found himself lying upon his back gazing into the heavens. Unable to retain his secret, he made it known one day to the Methodist preacher with whom he was walking. To Joseph Smith's surprise the preacher heaped all manner of ridicule upon it, called it the work of the devil, and asserted that visions and revelations came to an end with the apostles.

In the period that intervened between 1820 and 1823 the Prophet was developing mentally, physically, and spiritually. The year 1823 found him in doubt as to his relation with God, and, anxious for a manifestation of divine favor, he retired to his room for prayer on the night of September 21, 1823. He had hardly begun his prayer when a radiant light filled the room and he saw the angel Moroni, the last of the Book of Mormon prophets. He said he was a messenger sent of God to tell Joseph Smith of ancient hidden plates which contained the history of the early

inhabitants of the American continent and the Gospel as taught by Jesus Christ. With the record were various aids to be used in the translation. Moroni then quoted the ancient prophecies found in the third and fourth chapters of Malachi and in the eleventh chapter of Isaiah and instructed Joseph not to show the plates to any one unless by express permission. Three times that night the angel returned and repeated the same message. The next day Smith went into the field to work, but was unable to do so because of his unusual experience. His father sent him to the house, but on the way he fell to the ground. Again the angel appeared, repeating the message of the night before, and instructed the youth to tell his father everything. When his father heard him, he told him to obey the instructions for they were of God.

Leaving the field, Joseph Smith directed his steps to the hill Cumorah, which was not far distant. As he approached it he recognized from the vision the place where the plates were hidden.

On the west side of the hill and well toward the top, Smith, after some search, uncovered a large receptacle made of stone in which were the gold plates with the Urim and Thummim, the aids for the translation. Smith was instructed to come to this place once each year for four years, at the end of which time the plates would be handed over to him. On the evening of September 22, 1827, Moroni placed the plates in the hands of Joseph Smith, telling him that if he watched over them and carried out the instructions the plates would be left in his care until the work of translation was completed. The news that the Prophet had come into

possession of gold plates quickly spread, with the result that he was spied upon and forced to change their hiding-place.

In 1827 Joseph Smith married Emma Hale. For a time they made their home with the Prophet's father and mother, but the bitterness that had been aroused against Smith because of the finding of the golden plates compelled him to seek a quiet retreat for the work of translation. Such a place he found in Harmony, Pennsylvania.

Shortly after the work of translation had begun, Martin Harris, a friend of the Prophet, came to visit him and became so interested in the work that he offered to act as the Prophet's scribe. When 116 pages of manuscript had been completed, Harris begged to be allowed to show them to his friends that they might see what he was doing. The Prophet at first refused permission, but finally gave in with the understanding that the work was to be shown only to his immediate family. Harris failed to keep his promise and as a consequence the Prophet lost his power of translation.

After a period of sorrow and repentance, the power was restored to him. Martin Harris's place was taken by Oliver Cowdery, a young school-teacher of western New York, who had been boarding at the home of Joseph Smith, Sr., and had heard the story of the plates. The translation of the plates, which had begun in earnest in the spring of 1828, was completed in June, 1829. In the meantime, the Prophet had learned that three witnesses were necessary to have testimony to the truthfulness of the things contained in the Book of Mormon. Oliver Cowdery, David Whitmer, and



JOSEPH SMITH

Martin Harris were selected for this purpose. Retiring into the woods, they engaged in prayer. For some time no answer was received. Martin Harris, realizing that he was the cause of the failure, left the group. Immediately after that an angel appeared bearing the plates. While turning the leaves a voice from Heaven testified that the translation was correct and that these men were to testify to it. After much mental and spiritual effort, Martin Harris was given the gift to see the same vision. The translation was published in 1830 under the title of the Book of Mormon.

Soon after the translation was completed John the Baptist appeared before the Prophet and Oliver Cowdery to bestow upon them the power and authority of the Aaronic, or Levitical, priesthood by the laying on of hands. When he had departed, the Prophet baptized and ordained Cowdery to the priesthood and he did the same to the Prophet. In the same year, 1829, the Melchisedek priesthood, which had been restored by Peter, James, and John, was bestowed on the Prophet and Oliver Cowdery. This was the final act of the consummation of the plan conferring on them authority to organize a true church of God, and power to preach, teach, baptize, and confirm the faithful as members of the church.

The ground was now ready for the founding of a true church. The vision of 1820 had made it clear that none of the existing churches were true; the translation of the Book of Mormon added religious truths to the Bible; and the restoration of the priesthood gave power to man to act in the name of God. Knowledge and vision as to church organization and govern-

ment were still lacking and these were given to the Prophet and Oliver Cowdery in a revelation. The completion of the period of instruction was followed by the organization of the church. Complying with the laws of the State of New York, six of the newly made converts met in the house of Peter Whitmer, at Fayette, Seneca county, New York, on the sixth of April, 1830, and organized the Church of Jesus Christ. The meeting was opened by prayer, after which Joseph Smith and Oliver Cowdery were accepted by the assembly as teachers and leaders. Joseph Smith then ordained Oliver Cowdery to the office of an elder and he in turn ordained Joseph Smith to the same office. After the sacrament had been administered and the members had partaken of the bread and wine, hands were laid upon the newly baptized to confirm them members of the church and to confer upon them the gift of the Holy Ghost. Among the new members were Martin Harris and the parents of Joseph Smith. While the meeting was in session Joseph Smith received a revelation that appointed him prophet, seer, and revelator of the church. Five days after the organization the first public meeting was held at the home of Peter Whitmer, in which Oliver Cowdery preached the first public discourse. The spirit of missionary zeal burned among the new members with a fire worthy of the early apostles. While the Prophet built up and strengthened the New York branches of the church, his brother Samuel undertook the first missionary journey to the Eastern States. While here he left a Book of Mormon at the house of the Rev. J. P. Greene, which book came into the hands of Brigham

Young and Heber C. Kimball and was instrumental in bringing these men into the new church.

In the autumn of 1830 four missionaries, led by Oliver Cowdery, went on a mission to the Lamanites (Indians), who, according to the Book of Mormon, are descendants of the house of Israel. They preached both to the Lamanites and the Gentiles and their work was blessed.

At Kirtland, Ohio, Mentor, and other neighboring towns about one thousand men and women were converted. Among the new converts was the Rev. Sidney Rigdon and his congregation. Continuing on their way, the missionaries proceeded to the Delaware and Shawnee Indians and were well received by them. At Independence, Missouri, the missionaries aroused the jealousy and hatred of the local preachers and Indian agents, and their work was for the time being stopped. While one returned to report to the Prophet, two others remained at Independence, supporting themselves as tailors.

The Lamanite mission, although it failed to convert the Indians, was very successful among the white settlers. So many of them accepted the teachings that the center of Mormon population shifted westward. This fact, as well as the persecution in New York and the revelation of December 20, determined the Saints to move to Ohio.

With the opening of the year 1831 the westward migration of the Mormons commenced. Those in the field made preparations to receive and care for the new-comers. As soon as they arrived, land was set aside for them to enable them to support themselves

temporarily. Kirtland was regarded as a stopping-place on the way to Zion. It was believed that somewhere in the West near the Lamanites was a spot set aside as the land of Zion. At a conference of the Saints at Kirtland in June, 1831, it was resolved to send a number of elders in search of the promised land. Among the men chosen was the Prophet himself. When they had reached Independence, Missouri, in July, it was revealed to the Prophet that the land which God had consecrated for his people was before him. As soon as this truth became known, large tracts of land were preëmpted and bought, including a considerable part of the present city of Kansas, and preparations were made to build the new Zion. Messengers were sent back to spread the glad tidings, and before the year 1831 came to an end a number of the Saints had already taken up their residence at the new Zion. But the main body of the church, including the Prophet, did not leave Kirtland until 1837 and 1838.

The Mormons had been but a short time in Missouri when trouble broke out between them and the old settlers. Aside from the fact that the new-comers and the old-timers were of the same Anglo-Saxon stock, they had little in common. The former were brought up in the religious, economic, and social traditions of New England, the latter in those of the Southern States. The Mormons abhorred slavery; the others defended it. The one regarded the Indians as descendants of the children of Israel, to be redeemed and saved; the other, as children of the devil, to be exterminated. The new and old settlers lived apart: mistrusted, suspected, hated, and feared one another.

The fear was based on the rapid growth of the Mormon population, and Mormon teaching that Jackson county, Missouri, was the place chosen by God for the headquarters of the Latter-day Saints. Under the circumstances, many of the politicians and preachers argued that if the Mormons were to be allowed to come, increase, and multiply, teach and practise their doctrines, it wouldn't be long before the established institutions would be overturned and the Gentiles crowded out of Jackson and the adjoining counties.

Agitation against the Mormons came out in the open in the spring of 1833, when the Rev. Mr. Ewing published an article entitled "The Mormons Are the Common Enemies of Mankind," and the Rev. Mr. Pixley another entitled "Beware of False Prophets." In July the Mormons learned that the old settlers were passing around a paper having for its aim to organize a movement to get rid of the new settlers, peacefully if possible, forcibly if necessary.

On July 20, 1833, a public meeting was called at Independence to discuss the Mormon question. Those present voted that no more Mormons should be permitted to settle in Jackson county, and that those already there should leave. A committee was appointed to wait on the Mormon leaders to inquire whether they would or would not accept the decision of the meeting. In view of the seriousness of the issues involved and the short time for deliberation, the Mormons declined to bind themselves. This refusal was followed by such acts of terrorism and violence that the Mormons were compelled to bind themselves to leave the county in April, 1834. They moved over temporarily

to Clay county, for they hoped that the state authorities would restore to them their rights and property in Jackson county. Governor Dunklin advised the Mormons to take their case to the courts, but their enemies blocked them with delay. In the meantime, the anti-Mormon feeling was rising so high that the governor found that the law could do little for the persecuted. He told them that "public opinion may become paramount law, and when man or a society of men becomes so obnoxious to that sentiment as to determine the people to be rid of them it is useless to run counter to it. In this republic the vox populi is the vox dei." Determined to get redress, the Saints petitioned the National Government at Washington. Lewis Cass, secretary of war, replied that the offenses were violations of the state law of Missouri and not those of the National Government. The President could not call out a military force to aid in the execution of state law until the proper requisition is made upon him by the constituted authorities. A last and final attempt to settle the Jackson county trouble was made by compromise. To that end a meeting was called to meet in Liberty, Clay county, to consider the matter, but nothing came of these efforts.

All these various attempts having failed, the Mormons had to reconcile themselves to abandoning all hope of returning to Jackson county. In 1836 some of the Mormons located in northern Missouri on a thinly settled strip of territory to which the legislature gave the name of Caldwell county. Others made agreements with the people of Carroll and Daviess counties to allow them to live in among them. The principal set-

tlement of the Saints was known as Far West, whither came the Prophet in 1837, and in the year following this place was designated as the headquarters of the church.

It was not long before the Mormon population grew in numbers and influence to such an extent that it aroused a great deal of bitter feeling. Trouble broke out between the Mormons and anti-Mormons at the time of the election of the state legislature in 1838. One of the candidates, fearing defeat at the hands of the Mormons, stirred up the mob against them. A fight broke out which led to incendiarism, massacres, and the destruction of communities. By the spring of 1839 the Mormons had to move again, this time to Illinois.

By this time the church had practically completed its organization and worked out its doctrines. A general sketch of both may be of interest in this connection. In regard to the doctrine, we do no better than to present the Articles of Faith.

ARTICLES OF FAITH

1. We believe in God, the Eternal Father, and in His Son, Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost.

2. We believe that men will be punished for their own sins, and not for Adam's transgression.

3. We believe that through the atonement of Christ all mankind may be saved, by obedience to the laws and ordinances of the Gospel.

4. We believe that the first principles and ordinances of the Gospel are: first, Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ; second, Repentance; third, Baptism by immersion for the remission of sins; fourth, Laying on of hands for the Gift of the Holy Ghost.

5. We believe that a man must be called of God, by prophecy, and by the laying on of hands, by those who are in authority to preach the Gospel and administer in the ordinances thereof.

6. We believe in the same organization that existed in the Primitive Church, viz.: Apostles, prophets, pastors, teachers, evangelists, etc.

7. We believe in the gift of tongues, prophecy, revelation, visions, healing, interpretation of tongues, etc.

8. We believe the Bible to be the word of God, as far as it is translated correctly; we also believe the Book of Mormon to be the word of God.

9. We believe all that God has revealed, all that He does now reveal, and we believe that He will yet reveal

many great and important things pertaining to the Kingdom of God.

10. We believe in the literal gathering of Israel and in the restoration of the Ten Tribes; that Zion will be built upon this [the American] continent; that Christ will reign personally upon the earth, and that the earth will be renewed and receive its paradisiac glory.

11. We claim the privilege of worshipping Almighty God according to the dictates of our conscience, and allow all men the same privilege, let them worship how, where, or what they may.

12. We believe in being subject to kings, presidents, rulers, and magistrates, in obeying, honoring, and sustaining the law.

13. We believe in being honest, true, chaste, benevolent, virtuous, and in doing good to all men; indeed, we may say that we follow the admonition of Paul. "We believe all things, we hope all things," we have endured many things, and hope to be able to endure all things. If there is anything virtuous, lovely, or of good report, or praiseworthy, we seek after these things.

JOSEPH SMITH.

GOVERNMENT OF CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS

A. Priesthood:

I. Melchisedek Priesthood—

1. High priests (no regular number)
2. Seventies (70)
3. Elders (96)

II. Aaronic, or Levitical, Priesthood—

1. Priests (48)
2. Teachers (24)
3. Deacons (12)

B. Temporal Government:

I. General Authorities—

1. Presidency of church (3)
2. Council of Twelve Apostles
3. Presiding patriarch
4. First quorum of seventies
5. Presiding bishop (3)

II. Stake Authorities—

1. Stake presidents
2. Stake high council
3. High priests
4. Elders
5. Patriarch

III. Ward Authorities—

1. Bishops of ward
2. Priests
3. Teachers
4. Deacons

MELCHISEDEK PRIESTHOOD

Melchisedek Priesthood takes its name from the high priest and king of Salem.

The priesthood is divided into two orders, the Melchisedek and Aaronic; the former is higher than the latter. The number of high priests in each "stake"

is limited by the population. The duties of the high priests are to look after the spiritual and temporal welfare of their people. The seventies are made up of seventy members, of whom seven constitute the presidency. The special function of this body is to carry on missionary work.

The duties of the elders are to teach, preach, baptize, confirm, and, in the absence of the high priests, to preside over meetings.

Aaronic, or Levitical, Priesthood takes its name from Aaron and the tribe of Levi. This is divided into three groups, priests, teachers, and deacons. The duties of the priests are similar to those of the elders mentioned above, except that they have no authority to ordain to the higher priesthood. In addition, however, they have many duties of a temporal nature. The bishop is at the head of the priests.

The teachers are grouped into units of twenty-four. At the head of each group are three of their number. Their duty is to teach, preach, and to have general spiritual supervision over those under them.

Deacons are grouped into units of twelve, with three of their number at the head. They look after the church building and carry out the orders of the bishop.

TEMPORAL GOVERNMENT

At the head of the church are three high priests who constitute the presidency of the church. One of these three is the president. The presidency has general supervision over the spiritual and temporal welfare of the church.

The council of the Twelve Apostles is drawn from the high priests and acts as special witness of Jesus Christ on Earth. They work under the direction of the presidency of the church. They visit the stakes and wards of the church, and in addition to their duties of general supervision they have some of the functions of judges. In case of a vacancy in the presidency of the church it becomes the duty of the twelve to fill the vacancy. They do this by recommending a candidate to the conferences of the church.

The presiding patriarch is a hereditary office in the family of Joseph Smith, Sr., the father of the Prophet. It is the duty of the patriarch to bless the people and preside over all local patriarchs.

The first quorum of seventies works under the supervision of the Twelve Apostles and its principal function is missionary work. The seven men who are at the head of this quorum of seventies are called the first seven presidents of seventies and preside over all other seventies of the church.

The presiding bishops, of whom there are three, are taken from the high priests. They are at the head of the Aaronic priesthood and preside over the local bishops of the church.

For convenience of administration, the church is divided into stakes and wards, similar to dioceses and parishes. At the head of each stake are three high priests, whose duties in the stake are similar to those of the presidency of the church. The stake high council is made up of twelve men who act as judges. The office of the local patriarch does not pass from father to son.

With the exception of the "branch of the church" the ward is the smallest unit of administration. It is presided over by a bishop and two counselors. The bishop is usually of the quorum of high priests. As bishop he is at the head of the priests, teachers, and deacons.

THE MORMON BATTALION

THE story of the Mormons is unique in American history. Of the numerous and diverse sects that dwelt between the Atlantic and the Mississippi during the first half of the nineteenth century, the Mormons alone could not get along with their neighbors. It is difficult to get at the real causes from the controversial literature. Morality had nothing to do with this bitter feeling. Polygamy, a subject of attack after 1850, was barely mentioned before that date. It is true that some bad characters attached themselves to the Mormon church, but taking them as a body the Mormons were not inferior to their enemies and in some respects, especially soberness, were superior to them.

To account for this intense hatred toward the Mormons one should study human nature rather than documents. There must have been something about the Mormons, about their "holier-than-thou" attitude, their clannishness, exclusiveness, aggressiveness, positiveness, thrift, contempt for the religious and civil institutions of the Gentiles, for the "present authorities which have smuggled themselves into power in the States and Nation,"¹ that aroused both hatred and fear among the strongly sectarian emotional frontiersmen, used to violence and mob law, eager for excitement and ready for a fight.

¹ B. H. Roberts, "History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints," VI, 261.

Whatever the underlying causes were, the fact remains that the Mormons were disliked and distrusted. In the nine years that followed the foundation of the church (1830) Joseph Smith and his followers had wandered from New York to Missouri. In 1839 they had to abandon all their possessions in Missouri and seek safety in Illinois, the then frontier of American civilization. The people of Illinois were touched by the suffering of these persecuted men and women and treated them kindly. The state legislature was most generous. It granted them special charters for the city of Nauvoo, for a university, for a special military force, the "Nauvoo Legion," and other special rights and privileges not usually enjoyed by a municipality. Said Joseph Smith: "I concocted it [charter] for the salvation of the Church and on principles so broad, that every honest man might dwell secure under its protective influence."² For all practical purposes Nauvoo was a small theocracy in a large democratic State. Under these favorable conditions Nauvoo prospered and attracted the oppressed Mormons from other parts of the United States. So secure did the new settlers feel in their promised land that they set to work, April 6, 1841, to build a "House of the Lord."

This security was more apparent than real. The same causes, reasonable and unreasonable, that aroused Mormon opposition elsewhere were at work here. Not the least of these causes was the ever-growing "Mormon vote": if not large enough to decide elections at all times, it was at least important enough

² Historical Record, March, 1889, 754.

to influence state policies. The defeated party attacked the Mormons on both political and religious grounds. By 1843 the Mormons were as thoroughly hated in Illinois as they had been in Missouri. It became clearer than ever that to carry out their social and religious ideals the Mormons would have to go off by themselves, far from the Gentiles, as far as Texas, California, Oregon, or the Big Basin of the Rocky Mountains. While the Mormons were hesitating and gathering information about these little-known regions, the relations between them and their Gentile neighbors grew more strained and finally led to the murder of Joseph Smith and his brother Hyrum on June 27, 1844.

Brigham Young,³ who in August, 1844, succeeded Smith as head of the church, was an earnest, able, far-sighted, and practical statesman. Realizing that much of the feeling against his followers was due to prejudice, he attempted for a time, by means of speakers, to enlighten the people of Illinois on the true ideals of Mormonism. His efforts were, however, unsuccessful. The public, inflamed against the Mormons, would not listen to reason. Following in the footsteps of the Missourians, the people of Illinois clamored for the expulsion of the new settlers and made it evident that if they did not leave willingly they would be forced to do so. As governor of the State, Thomas Ford tried to protect the Mormons, who in his sight were at

³ Brigham Young was born in Vermont on June 1, 1801. He was baptized into the Church of Latter-day Saints on April 14, 1832. He went on several missionary journeys, even as far as England. In February, 1835, he was chosen as one of the Twelve Apostles and at the death of the Prophet, Brigham Young was named leader. He died on August 29, 1877.

least no worse than their tormentors. He realized, however, that he had to do not with a theory but with a case of incompatibility of temperaments. The Mormons and their neighbors could not get along together, and as long as they lived side by side there would be trouble. The only thing to do was to give the Mormons a hint to leave. In writing to General J. J. Hardin, Governor Ford said:

I wish you to say to the Mormons for me, that I regret very much, that so much excitement and hatred against them should exist in the public mind. Nevertheless, it is due to truth to say that the public mind everywhere is so decidedly hostile to them that public opinion is not inclined to do them common justice. Every bad report against them is greedily swallowed, whilst nothing can be heard in their favor; under these circumstances I fear that they will never be able to live in peace with their neighbors of Hancock and the surrounding counties. There is no legal power in the State to compel them to leave, and no such power will be exercised during my administration.

The spirit of the people, however, is up and the signs are very evident that an attempt will be made by the surrounding counties to drive them out. Such an attempt may fail once or even twice, but if undertaken in earnest and persevered in, it must finally succeed. Those who may think it wrong to drive out the Mormons cannot be made to fight in their defense, and indeed the people of the State will never tolerate the expense of frequent military expeditions to defend them. The Mormons may think themselves strong enough to defend themselves; but do they want to live in a state of continued war? They may overcome their enemies; but those enemies will rally again, and murders will be committed and mischief done from this time out, as each party may find itself able.

I desire that you will impress these facts upon the Mormons, and that you will counsel and promote peaceable means of accommodation whereby the Mormons may be induced to leave the State. It is acknowledged by me that the State has

no power to insist upon their removal, that it is a great hardship on them to remove from their comfortable homes and the property which they have accumulated by years of toil; but is it not better that they should do so voluntarily than to lie in a state of continual war? ⁴

He followed it up with a letter to Brigham Young, dated April 8, 1845, advising him to conquer, settle, and establish an independent government in California. It was easier said than done. California was far off, and the Mormons were poorly equipped for traveling or fighting. The advice seemed too much like a scheme to get rid of both Mexicans and Mormons. Then, again, there were rumors that the United States might attempt to prevent the Mormons from emigrating.

Whatever his reasons were, Brigham Young made no move to go to California. He wrote a letter to Governor Drew of Arkansas, asking asylum in the State for his people. Having the experiences of Missouri and Illinois before him, Governor Drew politely but firmly refused the asylum. He offered some gratuitous advice—to go to Oregon, California, Texas, Nebraska—anywhere, but not Arkansas.

While Brigham Young was corresponding and trying to find a home for his people the Illinois mob grew restless and violent, determined to drive the Mormons from their midst. They could live anywhere they pleased but not in Illinois, and to the regions named by Governor Drew, Stephen Douglas added Vancouver's Island. Caught between the merciless mob and the inhospitable wilderness, Brigham Young decided

⁴ Historical Record, March, 1889, 823.

that the chances of survival were much better with the latter than with the former. On September 16, 1845, he notified the mob that if it would cease the attacks the Mormons would depart in the spring.

But where to go? Joseph Smith's troubles in New York, Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois made him cast his eyes to the Far West, Texas, California, Oregon, the Big Basin, as possible asylums. As the situation in Illinois grew more tense he decided to send an exploring expedition. On February 20, 1844, he instructed the Twelve Apostles to fit out an exploring party for California and Oregon.⁵ At this time California was seemingly not seriously considered, but Texas and Oregon received much attention as places of Mormon settlement. There were, however, weighty difficulties in the way:

The most of the settlers in Oregon and Texas are our old enemies, the mobocrats of Missouri⁶ . . . and should we attempt to march to Oregon without the government throwing a protective shield over us, Missouri's crimes would lead her first to misinterpret our intentions [and] . . . to fan a flame too hot for us to encounter.⁷

What was said of Oregon applied with equal force to Texas. Before making any move it was necessary to secure the "protective shield" of the Government. With this in mind a delegation was sent to Washington in March, 1844, to influence the President and Congress. This delegation carried with it a memorial (dated March 26) drawn up by Joseph Smith. It was

⁵ Roberts, "History of the Church," VI, 222, 224.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 372.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 370.

called "An Ordinance for the Protection of the Citizens of the United States Emigrating to the Territories, and for the Extension of the Principles of Universal Liberty." ⁸ This "protection" and "extension" was to be secured by authorizing Joseph Smith "to raise a company of one hundred thousand armed volunteers." ⁹ In answer to the objections that such an act might lead to international complications, particularly with Great Britain, the delegates replied that "the volunteers are not to be considered any part or portion of the army of the United States, neither acting under the direction or authority of the United States." ¹⁰ If Congress should authorize such a private army the Mormons could defy the mobocrats of Missouri, whether in Oregon or Texas. The delegates urged upon the Illinois congressmen and senators to draw up a bill along the lines marked out in the memorial. This is probably the "Great Western Measure" to which the Mormons refer in their letter of April 24, 1845, to President Polk. It is astonishing that Joseph Smith and his advisers should have been so *naïve* as to suppose that Congress would lend itself to such a scheme. Even the Illinois politicians refused to champion it. Stephen Douglas advised the Mormons not to wait for government action but to strike out for Oregon, and if at the end of five years Congress "would not receive us into the Union, we would have a government of our own." ¹¹ So eager was Douglas to get them out of Illinois that he gave the delegation

⁸ *Ibid.*, 275.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 277.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 369.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 374.

a map of Oregon and Frémont's report of his exploration, but made them promise not to tell where they got the material. The delegates were almost persuaded. They wrote to Joseph Smith:

. . . If the Mormons become the early majority, others will not come; if the Mormons do not become the early majority, the others will not allow us to come . . . the sooner the move is made the better, and I would not advise any delay for the action of our government, for there is such jealousy of our rising power already, that government will do nothing to favor us.¹²

. . . There is no government established there [Oregon]; and it is so near California that when a government shall be established there [Oregon], it may readily embrace that country [California] likewise.¹³

While the negotiations dragged on, Joseph Smith was assassinated, and the position of the Mormons grew worse rather than better. It was evident that they had to leave Illinois, but did not know in which direction to turn their footsteps. Arkansas did not want them, the mobocrats of Missouri and Texas would greet them with "a flame too hot for us to encounter." There was one other possible spot and that was the Big Basin or the Salt Lake Valley. The Big Basin idea had been in the heads of the Mormons for some years, though it is not quite clear how it got there. They knew less about the Big Basin than they did about Oregon. But in 1845 they had no other choice than the Big Basin; they were not in a material position to go even to the Big Basin. Brigham Young had on his hands thousands of men, women, and children and little

¹² *Ibid.*, 372.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 374.

means of supporting and transporting them. One of the tragedies of the Mormon migration was that while governors, congressmen, and senators urged the Mormons to go West, they warned them at the same time that the "government at Washington" will not let them go far for fear "they will join the British."

The basis for this belief may be found in a letter which Governor Edwards of Missouri wrote to Secretary of War William L. Marcy. The Mormons, he says,

. . . are a bad and deluded sect, and they have been harshly treated; but I suppose very correctly; yet they do not believe so, and under the treatment which they have received, if they are not enemies, both of our people and our government, then they are better Christians and purer patriots than other denominations, a thing which nobody in the west can believe.¹⁴

There is no evidence that the Mormons desired to join the British in the sense of joining them in a war against the United States. There is, however, reason to believe that in the difficult positions in which they found themselves they might have considered settling on British soil. In his letter to President Polk, Elder Little said:

. . . They [Mormons], as well as myself, are true hearted Americans, true to our country, true to its laws, true to its glorious institutions, and we have a desire to go under the outstretched wings of the American Eagle. We would disdain to receive assistance from a foreign power, although it should be proffered, unless our government shall turn us off in this great crisis and will not help us, but compel us to be foreigners.¹⁵

¹⁴ See below letter of Edwards to Marcy.

¹⁵ See below letter of Little to Brigham Young.

The year 1846 brought nothing but gloom to the poor Mormons. They were forced to plunge into the blasting cold and inhospitable wilderness, without knowing what to-morrow had in store for them. They were, however, a hardy people. Years of suffering made them self-reliant, gave them confidence in themselves, in their leaders, and faith in God. Brigham Young had quite made up his mind to take his people to where they "will infringe upon no one, and not likely to be infringed upon. Here we will make a resting place until we can determine a place for a permanent location."

The present problem was to move. He instructed the Mormons on the Atlantic coast to proceed to California by way of Cape Horn, while he himself undertook to lead his followers across the plain. Whether the final destination would be California, Oregon, or the Big Basin depended largely on circumstances and government support. If he could get the contract "to build block houses and stockade forts on the route to Oregon" he would go there and take his chances. Such a contract would furnish his people with the means of subsistence, protection against the mobocrats, and the right to occupy, temporarily, government and Indian lands. If, however, President Polk should not give the desired encouragement the Mormons would proceed westward until they found "some good valley in the neighborhood of the Rocky Mountains," and wait for developments.

On January 26, 1846, President Young wrote to Elder Jesse Little, then in New Hampshire, to go on a mission to Washington which should have for its

object to embrace "any facilities for emigration to the western coast" which "our government shall offer." On the way to the capital Little met and was befriended by Judge John K. Kane and his son, Thomas L. Kane of Philadelphia. They gave him a letter of recommendation to Vice-President Dallas. In this letter Kane said that the Mormons plan "to found a new commonwealth in the Sacramento Valley."

By the time Little reached Washington (May 21, 1846) the Mexican War was the exciting topic of conversation. One of the first men he met was Amos Kendall, a former postmaster-general.

We talked upon the subject of emigration [reported Little], and he thought arrangements could be made to assist our emigration by enlisting one thousand of our men, arming, equipping and establishing them in California to defend the country.¹⁶

Here is the first indication of a Mormon battalion. Kendall took up this question with the President, who seemed to favor the idea, but for reasons quite his own. In his diary of June 2 he notes:

Col. Kearney was also authorized to receive into service as volunteers a few hundred of the Mormons on their way to California, with a view to conciliate them, attach them to our country, and prevent them from taking part against us.¹⁷

This is interesting. It shows that at this time the Mormons were powerful enough to oblige the President to

¹⁶ See below letter of Little to Brigham Young.

¹⁷ President's Diary, June 2.

take them into consideration and helps to explain why the Missourians of guilty conscience feared them.

On June 3 Little talked with the President, who, according to his diary, inquired whether "500 or more of the Mormons now on their way to California would be willing on their arrival in that country to volunteer and enter the U. S. army in that war." In other words, the President was willing to take the Mormons into service after they had arrived in California. Strangely enough, neither Little in his report nor Marcy in his order to Kearney makes mention of the condition referred to by the President. The only condition laid down by Marcy was that the number of Mormons should not exceed one third of his entire force.

With this order sent to Kearney were others telling him to raise footmen among the Missourians; but "no footmen were raised in the northwest part of the State," reported Governor Edwards to Marcy, "under the order from General Kearney alluded to in my letter some weeks back in consequence of an aversion to that section of the State to the foot service. I think it was well, as their service may be needed in that quarter to keep the Indians and the Mormons in check." Under the circumstances General Kearney, who was not prejudiced against the Mormons, was only too glad to get them to join his force. He sent at once Captain Allen to enlist about five hundred men.

This invitation to join the army was received differently by the Mormons. Brigham Young thought, or pretended that he did, that it was a trap laid by Senator Benton to catch the Mormons. Refusal to enlist

would be first-class evidence that the Mormons were disloyal and should be exterminated. Brigham Young takes credit to himself for seeing through the plot and outgeneraling his foe. There is no evidence whatsoever that such a plot existed or that Benton was in any way consulted in connection with the Mormon battalion. It is true that such stories circulated, but it is difficult to conceive of a man as shrewd as Brigham Young being taken in by them. It is more than likely that he made use of this story to help him with his followers.

Brigham Young, better than any one else, knew what a godsend to the Mormons this invitation was. It meant that five hundred of their men would be taken to California at government expense, that they would have the opportunity to explore the land, that their pay would help to fill the empty treasury, that the Mormons as a body would be protected and allowed to occupy Indian lands in their march across the country. The Mormon leader grasped at the opportunity, but his followers, who had to part with their destitute families, were less eager. Brigham Young hurried from one camp of Israel to another, from the Missouri to the Mississippi and back, encouraging, exhorting, until he got enough men to make up the battalion.

Henry Standage's journal tells the story of the march of the battalion and its experiences there. Standage was probably a typical Mormon. He believed in God, believed in the Book of Mormon, had confidence in the leadership of the church, lived a clean life, carried out the orders of his military superiors in

so far as they did not conflict with matters of conscience. Aside from the question of calomel, there was little trouble between the Gentile officers and the Mormon soldiers. From the point of view of the army and the natives of California the sober Mormons were better soldiers and citizens than some of the drunken, squaw-chasing Missouri and New York volunteers. Under the circumstances it is no wonder that the military authorities in the conquered territory made such efforts to get the Mormons to reënlist and occupy California.

They offered them practically two thirds of California if they would stay. With the exception of one company the Mormons would not be tempted. Their place was with their families, with the Saints, sharing with them their joys and sorrows. Brigham Young and his advance party reached the Salt Lake Valley on July 24, 1847, and from there he urged the soldiers of the battalion to return to their people. He understood the frailties of human nature and feared that prosperity, contact with the world, too long absence from their families, would be ruinous to the men.

It is not clear whether Brigham Young on his way to Salt Lake Valley had in mind to make it the permanent home of the Mormons.¹⁸ It is possible that

¹⁸ Letter of Brigham Young to Elders Amasa Lyman, Charles C. Rich, and the Saints in camp, en route for California:

California, Green river ferry, westbank, July 3, 1847.
Beloved Brethren:

Many of the families emigrating with Elder Brannan are comfortably situated with Spanish families in San Francisco and neighborhood, and the brethren are making a settlement on the San Joaquin (pronounced Waa Keen) river, about 75 miles southeast from the bay and have 150 acres of wheat growing besides potatoes, etc. Expecting us to help eat it; but our destination is the Great

had gold not been found in California he might have gone to that territory. There were good reasons why he should and none why he should not. It is evident, however, that as soon as he heard of the gold discovery he was determined not to go to California. He had gone west not in search of riches but to found a patriarchal, pastoral state, where his people would live simply and worship God according to the dictates of their conscience. "Babylon and Zion," riches and religion, cannot live together, said Young. From this position he would not move, and to all suggestions and murmurs of some of his followers to be taken to the gold fields he turned a deaf ear.

The Mormon Battalion played a very important part in Mormon history, and the Mormons have erected a beautiful monument to commemorate its services. The Battalion made it possible for the Mormons to move westward with comparatively little hardship. The pay earned by the soldiers was used to purchase the land on which stands Ogden, Utah, as well as other territory. The seeds which the soldiers brought back from the newly conquered territory, and the methods of irrigation and cultivation which they learned in California and applied in Utah, turned the desert-like Salt Lake Valley into a Garden of Eden. The awkward squads which left Council Bluffs entered Salt Lake as trained, disciplined soldiers, fully equipped. This equipment and training were of great service to them later in their Indian troubles.

Basin, or Salt Lake, for the present, at least, to examine the country. . . .

(Journal History of the Church. See bibliography below for explanation of the term.)

GOVERNOR THOMAS FORD¹ OF ILLINOIS
ADVISES THE MORMONS TO CONQUER
AND SETTLE CALIFORNIA²

APRIL 8, 1845.

. . . If you can get off by yourselves, you may enjoy peace; but surrounded by such neighbors I confess that I do not foresee the time when you will be permitted to enjoy quiet. I was informed by General Joseph Smith last summer that he contemplated a removal west; and from what I learned from him and others at that time, I think if he had lived he would have begun to move in the matter before this time. I would be willing to exert all my feeble abilities and influence to further your views in this respect if it was the wish of your people.³

I would suggest a matter in confidence. California now offers a field for the prettiest enterprise that has been undertaken in modern times. It is but sparsely inhabited, and by none but the Indian or imbecile Mexican Spaniards. I have not inquired enough to know how strong it is in men and means; but this we know that if conquered from Mexico, the country is

¹ Thomas Ford (1800-1850), governor of Illinois, 1842-46.

² Historical Record, March, 1889, 809-810.

³ "I instructed the Twelve Apostles to send out a delegation and investigate the locations of California and Oregon, and hunt out a good location, where we can remove to after the temple is completed, and where we can build a city in a day, and have a government of our own, get up into the mountains, where the devil cannot dig us out, and live in a healthful climate, where we can live as old as we have a mind to." (B. H. Roberts, "History of the Church" [Joseph Smith Diary, February 20, 1844] Vol. VI., 222, 224.)

so physically weak and morally distracted that she could never send a force there to reconquer it. Why would it not be a pretty operation for your people to go out there, take possession of and conquer a portion of the vacant country and establish an independent government of your own, subject only to the laws of nations? You would remain there a long time before you would be disturbed by the proximity of other settlements. If you conclude to do this, your design ought not to be known, or otherwise it would become the duty of the United States to prevent your emigration. But if you once cross the line of the United States' territories, you would be in no danger of being interfered with. . . .

COMMITTEE OF THE CHURCH OF JESUS
CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS TO
PRESIDENT POLK ¹

NAUVOO, April 24, 1845.

HIS EXCELLENCY JAMES K. POLK, PRESIDENT
OF THE UNITED STATES:

. . . In the name of Israel's God, and by virtue of multiplied ties of country and kindred, we ask your friendly interposition in our favor. Will it be too much for us to ask you to convene a special session of Congress and furnish us an asylum where we can enjoy our rights of conscience and religion unmolested? or will you in a special message to that body, when convened, recommend a remonstrance against such unhallowed acts of oppression and expatriation as this people have continued to receive from the States of Missouri and Illinois? or will you favor us by your personal influence and by your official rank? or will you express your views concerning what is called the "Great Western Measure" of colonizing the Latter-day Saints in Oregon, the northwestern Territory, or some location remote from the States, where the hand

¹ Historical Record, March, 1889, 811-812.

of oppression shall not crush every noble principle and
extinguish every patriotic feeling? . . .

BRIGHAM YOUNG
WILLARD RICHARDS
ORSON SPENCER
ORSON PRATT
W. W. PHELPS
A. W. BABBITT
J. M. BERNHISEL

MORMONS ASK ASYLUM IN ARKANSAS ¹

NAUVOO, April 30, 1845.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY,
THOMAS S. DREW,²
Governor of Arkansas.

Hon. Sir:—

Suffer us, Sir, in behalf of a disfranchised and long-afflicted people to prefer a few suggestions for your serious consideration in hope of a friendly and unequivocal response, at as early a period as may suit your convenience, and the extreme urgency of the case seems to demand.

It is not our present design to detail the multiplied and aggravated wrongs that we have received in the midst of a nation that gave us birth. Most of us have long been loyal citizens of some one of these United States, while a few only claim the privileges of peaceable and lawful emigrants designing to make the Union our permanent residence. We say we are a disfranchised people. We are privately told by the highest authorities of the State, that it is neither prudent nor safe for us to vote at the polls; still we have continued to maintain our right to vote until the blood of our best men has been shed both in Missouri and Illinois, with impunity.

¹ Journal History.

² Thomas S. Drew (1802-1879), governor of Arkansas, 1844-48.

You are doubtless, somewhat familiar with the history of our extermination from the State of Missouri wherein scores of our brethren were massacred; hundreds died through want and sickness occasioned by their unparalleled sufferings; some millions of our property were confiscated or destroyed and some fifteen thousand souls fled for their lives, to the then hospitable and peaceful shores of Illinois; and that the State of Illinois granted to us a liberal charter, for the term of perpetual succession, under whose provision private rights have become invested and the largest city in the State has grown up numbering about 20,000 inhabitants.

But, Sir, the startling attitude recently assumed by the State of Illinois forbids us to think that her designs are any less vindictive than that of Missouri. She has already used the Military of the State, with the Executive at their head to coerce and surrender up our best men to unparalleled murder, and that too, under the most sacred pledges of protection and safety. As a salve for such unearthly perfidy and guilt she told us through her highest executive officer, that the laws should be magnified and the murderers brought to justice; but the blood of her innocent victims had not been wholly wiped from the floor of the awful arena, where the citizens of a Sovereign State pounced upon two defenseless servants of God, our Prophet and our Patriarch, before the Senate of that State rescued one of the indicted actors in that mournful tragedy from the Sheriff of Hancock County and gave him an honorable seat in her Hall of Legislation, and all who were indicted by the grand jury of Hancock County for the

murders of Generals Joseph and Hyrum Smith are suffered to roam at large watching for further prey.

To crown the climax of those bloody deeds, the State has repealed all those chartered rights, by which we might have lawfully defended ourselves against aggressors. If we defend ourselves hereafter against violence whether it comes under the shadow of law or otherwise, (for we have reason to expect it both ways) we shall then be charged with treason and suffer the penalty; and if we continue passive and non-resistant, we must certainly expect to perish for our enemies have sworn it.

And, here Sir, permit us to state that General Joseph Smith during his short life was arraigned at the bar of his country about fifty times, charged with criminal offenses, but was acquitted every time by his country, his enemies, or rather his religious opponents almost invariably being his judges. And we further testify that as a people we are law-abiding, peaceable, and without crime, and we challenge the world to prove to the contrary, and while other less cities in Illinois have had special courts instituted to try their criminals, we have been stripped of every source of arraigning marauders and murderers who are prowling around to destroy us, except the common magistracy.

With these facts before you, Sir, will you write to us without delay as a father and friend, and advise us what to do? We are all members of the same great confederacy. Our fathers, nay some of us, have fought and bled for our country, and we love her Constitution dearly.

In the name of Israel's God, and by virtue of our

multiplied ties of country and kindred, we ask your friendly interposition in our favor. Will it be too much for us to ask you to convene a special session of your State Legislature and furnish us an asylum where we can enjoy our rights of conscience and religion unmolested? Or will you in a special message to that body, when convened recommend a remonstrance against such an unhallowed act of oppression and expatriation as this people have continued to receive from the states of Missouri and Illinois? Or will you favor us by your personal influence and by your official rank? Or will you express your views concerning what is called the "*Great Western Measure*" of colonizing the Latter-Day Saints, in Oregon, the North Western Territory, or some location remote from the states, where the hand of oppression shall not crush every noble principle and extinguish every patriotic feeling?

And now, Honorable Sir, having reached out our imploring hands to you with deep solemnity, we would importune with you as a father, a friend, a patriot and a statesman, by the constitution of American liberty, by the blood of our fathers who have fought for the independence of this Republic, by the blood of the martyrs which has been shed in our midst, by the wailings of the widows and orphans, by our murdered fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, wives and children, by the dread of immediate destruction from secret combinations now forming for our overthrow, and by every endearing tie that binds man to man and renders life bearable; and that too, for aught we know, for the last time; that you will lend your immediate aid to quell the violence of mobocracy and ex-

ert your influence to establish us as a people in our civil and religious rights where we now are, or at some place remote therefrom, where we may colonize in peace and safety as soon as circumstances will permit.

We sincerely hope that your future prompt measure towards us will be dictated by the best feelings that dwell in the bosom of humanity, and the blessings of a grateful people and of many ready to perish shall come upon you.

We are, Sir,

With great respect,

Your obedient servants,

BRIGHAM YOUNG, *Pres.*

W. RICHARDS

ORSON SPENCER

ORSON PRATT

W. W. PHELPS

ALMON W. BABBITT

JNO. M. BERNHISEL

In behalf of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, at Nauvoo, Ill.

P.S. As many of our communications post marked at Nauvoo have failed of their destination, and the mails around us have been intercepted by our enemies, we shall send this to some distant office by the hand of a special messenger.

GOVERNOR DREW REFUSES ASYLUM TO
MORMONS AND URGES THEM TO GO
TO OREGON OR CALIFORNIA ¹

EXECUTIVE OFFICE
LITTLE ROCK, ARK.

May 27th, 1845.

Hon. BRIGHAM YOUNG
Pres. of the Coun. of Twelve
Of Christ Church of Latter Day
Saints at Nauvoo, Ill.

Sir,

Your letter of the 1st inst. has been received, and claims my earnest attention. I must acknowledge my inability to serve your people by calling an extra Session of the General Assembly of this State, for the object contemplated; And although I do not know that prejudice against your tenets in Arkansas would weigh aught against the action of that body, in refusing to furnish within our borders an asylum from the oppression of which you so sorely complain, yet I am sure the representatives of the people would long hesitate to extend to any class of citizens exclusive privileges, however innocent their motives, aims, objects or actions might appear, when the prospects of collision, from cause of which in your case I know nothing, appear so evident from the two very recent manifestations presented in the States of Missouri and Illinois.

¹ Journal History.

I have no doubt, Illinois, prompted by the kindest of sympathies for your people, in the late struggle and overthrow they encountered in Missouri, extended a liberal, helping hand but to repent her supposed folly. Could Arkansas, after witnessing the same scene enacted in Illinois, calculate on anything short of a like catastrophe?

I am not sufficiently informed of the course taken against you by the Authorities of the State of Illinois in the difficulties detailed in your communication, to justify a recommendation from me to the Legislature to remonstrate against the acts of Illinois—The detailed statement of facts afforded me by your communication being of an *ex parte* character. But were I regularly informed of all the facts from both parties, and felt able to form a correct opinion as to the justice of the course pursued by the State of Illinois, yet I am of opinion that this State would not have, nor would I have as its Chief Executive Officer, the right to interfere, in the least, with the internal concerns or policy of the State of Illinois, or of any other neighboring state, where its operations do not distract, or in any way affect the good order of the Citizens of the State of Arkansas. There are instances, but they are rare, where the interposition of one state to arrest the progress of violence in another would be at all admissible: Such, for instance, As when the public authorities of the State affected are palpably incompetent to quell an insurrection within her limits, and the violence is likely to extend its ravages and bad influence to such neighboring state; or where a proper call has been made for succor.

Nor can I afford to exercise my Official rank as Chief Executive of this State, in behalf of a faction in a neighboring State. And I humbly conceive that my personal influence would add nothing to your Cause, unless it should prove to be a just one, in which event public opinion will afford you support of a character more lasting in the eye of an enlightened public, than wiser and greater men than your humble servant—Than official rank or force backed by power. It is true that while prejudice may have the ascendancy over the minds of the neighboring community, your people may be exposed more or less to loss of life, and destruction of property:

I, therefore, heartily agree with you in the proposed plan of Emigration to the Oregon Territory—or to California—the north of Texas or to Nebraska, thereby, placing your Community beyond the reach of contention, until, at least, you shall have had time and opportunity to test the practicability of your system, and to develop its contemplated superior advantages in ameliorating the condition of the human race, and adding to the blessings of civil and religious liberty. That such a community constituted as yours, with the mass of prejudice which surrounds and obstructs its progress at this time, cannot prosper in that or any of the neighboring states, appears very evident from the signal failures upon two occasions, under auspices at least as favorable as you could reasonably expect from any of the states.

My personal sympathies are strong for the oppressed, and my Official Station can know nothing but what is sanctioned by the strictest justice, and that

circumscribed to the limited jurisdiction of my own State; And while I deplore, as a man and a philanthropist, your distressed situation, I would refer you to the emphatic patriarchal proposition of Abraham to Lot: And whilst I allude to the eloquent paraphrase of one of Virginia's most gifted sons wherein he circumscribed the bounds of our domain within to the great Valley of the Mississippi, I would only add that the way is now open to the Pacific without let or hindrance. Should the Latter-Day Saints migrate to Oregon they will carry with them the good will of philanthropists and the blessings of every friend of humanity. If they are wrong, their wrongs will be abated with many degrees of allowance, and if right, migration will afford an opportunity to make it manifest in due season to the whole civilized world.

With my hearty desires for your peace and prosperity, I subscribe myself.

Respectfully yours,

THOS. S. DREW.

MORMON OFFER TO LEAVE NAUVOO ¹

PROCLAMATION :

TO COL. LEVI WILLIAMS,

And the mob party, of whom he is the supposed leader, who have been and are still engaged in burning the houses and property of the peaceable citizens of Hancock County:

We the undersigned, a committee of the citizens of the City of Nauvoo, have selected a committee of five, viz: Peter Haws, Andrew H. Perkins, Erastus H. Derby, David D. Yearsley, and Solomon Hancock, who will be the bearers of this, to confer with you, and inform you that it is our intention to leave Nauvoo and the country next spring;² provided, that yourselves and all others will cease all hostile operations, so as to give use the short but necessary time for our journey; and we want you to return an answer in writing, by our said committee, whether you will cease your destructive operations, and vexatious lawsuits, and give

¹ Journal History.

² Tuesday Sept. 9, 1845. At 2 p.m. the general council in Nauvoo met and resolved that a company of 1500 men be selected to go to Great Salt Lake Valley and that a Committee of five be appointed to gather information relative to emigration, and report the same to the council. (Journal History, 1845.)

us the opportunity of carrying out our designs peaceably.

BRIGHAM YOUNG,	AMASA LYMAN,
JOHN E. PAGE,	WILLARD RICHARDS,
GEORGE A. SMITH,	CHARLES C. RICH,
P. P. PRATT,	ISAAC MORLEY,
ORSON SPENCER,	JOHN TAYLOR,
SAMUEL BENT,	HEBER C. KIMBALL.

STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS ADVISES THE MORMONS TO SETTLE VANCOUVER'S ISLAND ¹

OCTOBER 1, 1845, a meeting was held in Nauvoo at which President Brigham Young met with General John J. Hardin, Stephen A. Douglas, W. B. Warren, and J. A. McDougal. At this meeting "Stephen A. Douglas said that Vancouver's Island was claimed by the United States, and he felt sure there could be no objection to its settlement, or the settlement of Oregon."

¹ Journal History. Historical Record, March, 1889, 822.

REQUEST TO LEAVE ¹

NAUVOO, Oct. 1st, 1845.

TO THE PRESIDENT AND COUNCIL OF THE CHURCH
AT NAUVOO:

Having had a free and full conversation with you this day, in reference to your proposed removal from this country, together with the members of your church, we have to request you to submit the facts and intentions stated to us in the said conversations to writing, in order that we may lay them before the Governor and people of the State. We hope that by so doing it will have a tendency to allay the excitement at present existing in the public mind.

We have the honor to subscribe ourselves,

JOHN J. HARDIN,
W. B. WARREN,
S. A. DOUGLASS,
J. A. McDOUGAL.

NAUVOO, ILL., Oct. 1st, 1845.

TO GEN. J. HARDIN, W. B. WARREN, S. A. DOUGLASS
AND J. A. McDOUGAL:

MESSRS:—In reply to your letter of this date, requesting us to submit the facts and intentions stated by us in writing, in order that you may lay them before

¹ E. W. Tullidge, "Life of Brigham Young," 9-11.

the Governor and people of the State, we would refer you to our communication of the 24th ult. to the "Quincy committee," &c., a copy of which is herewith enclosed.

In addition to this we would say that we had commenced making arrangements to remove from the country, previous to the recent disturbances; that we have four companies, of one hundred families each, and six more companies now organizing, of the same number each, preparatory to a removal.

That one thousand families, including the twelve, the high council, the trustees and general authorities of the Church, are fully determined to remove in the Spring, independent of the contingencies of selling our property; and that this company will comprise from five to six thousand souls.

That the Church, as a body, desire to remove with us, and will, if sales can be effected, so as to raise the necessary means.

That the organization of the Church we represent is such that there never can exist but one head or presidency at any one time. And all good members wish to be with the organization; and all are determined to remove to some distant point where we shall neither infringe nor be infringed upon, so soon as time and means will permit.

That we have some hundreds of farms and some two thousand houses for sale in this city and county, and we request all good citizens to assist in the disposal of our property.

That we do not expect to find purchasers for our temple and other public buildings; but we are willing

to rent them to a respectable community who may inhabit the city.

That we wish it distinctly understood, that although we may not find purchasers for our property, we will not sacrifice it, nor give it away or suffer it illegally to be wrested from us.

That we do not intend to sow any wheat this Fall, and should we all sell, we shall not put in any more crops of any description.

That as soon as practicable, we will appoint committees for this city, La Harpe, Macedonia, Bear Creek, and all necessary places in the county, to give information to purchasers.

That if these testimonies are not sufficient to satisfy any people that we are in earnest, we will soon give them a sign that cannot be mistaken—WE WILL LEAVE THEM.

In behalf of the council, respectfully yours, &c.,

BRIGHAM YOUNG, President
WILLARD RICHARDS, Clerk

GOVERNOR THOMAS FORD OF ILLINOIS
TO SHERIFF J. B. BACKENSTOS OF
HANCOCK COUNTY, ILLINOIS ¹

SPRINGFIELD, Dec. 29, 1845.

DEAR SIR:

In the matter of the late attempt to make arrests by the Deputy marshal ² in Nauvoo. You will understand that that was entirely an affair of the U. S. Government, in which this State took no official part. A demand was made on me by the marshal for troops which was promptly refused. I am not yet advised that the troops under the command of Major Warren took any part. If they did, they had no orders from me, and I cannot think that they did take any part in assisting the deputy marshal, for that would have been contrary to the settled and solemn understanding between Major Warren and myself. I had heard some rumor of the matter before I received your letter, from which I inferred that some of the men may have gone with the deputy marshal as a mere personal guard.

You know that the impression has become pretty

¹ "History of Brigham Young," 1846, 3.

² This took place on October 25 and December 27, 1845. The deputy marshal came from Iowa to arrest the Twelve Apostles for making "bogus" money. (Historical Record, March, 1889, 828-830.) Some of the Mormons did pass counterfeit money, but as soon as their act was discovered, Brigham Young denounced them. (Tulledge, 39.)



AN EARLY ENGRAVING OF NAUVOO

general that no officers can go with safety unattended to Nauvoo to arrest any of their principal men. The idea is, that an officer thus exposed would be liable to be murdered. This may be all idle supposition; yet it is sufficient to account for the mob going with the marshal without supposing that they went to assist him.

This indictment in the U. S. Court against the leading Mormons puts a new phase on the matter. It will bring them and the United States for the first time into collision. It is impossible for me to guess, with any certainty, as to the course of Mr. Polk in the matter, but I would think it likely that he will order up a regiment or two of the regular army, and perhaps call on me for the militia, in which event I will be compelled to order them, as you know.

I hope that the Administration will not act in the matter this winter. If the Mormons remain in the State, a strong force will be ordered to Nauvoo by the Secretary of War, to remain there until arrests can be made. This you know is all guess work, as I have no such official relations with the government at Washington as would enable me to know it certainly. I also think that it is very likely that the Government at Washington will interfere to prevent the Mormons from going west of the Rocky Mountains. Many intelligent persons sincerely believe that they will join the British, if they go there, and be more trouble than ever, and I think that this consideration is likely to influence the Government.

If it should be the case that government will order and station a large force at Nauvoo, and they can keep their soldiers there with as little expense as anywhere

else, and shall interfere to prevent their emigration, it will put the Mormon leaders who are indicted in a worse box than they have yet been.

They will have to separate from their people and become fugitives in the earth, or submit to a trial on their indictments. These are all mere speculations of mine, but it will be for you and them to calculate whether the results guessed at are not probable.

I am most respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

THOMAS FORD.

PRESIDENT POLK AND MORMON EMIGRATION

SATURDAY, 31st January, 1846.¹

. . . After night Senator Semple ² called and held a conversation with me in relation to the intended emigration of the Mormons of Illinois to Oregon. I had examined Gov. Ford's letter on the subject, which he had delivered to me on the 30th Instant, & which I have placed on file, and informed him that as President of the U. S. I possessed no power to prevent or check their emigration; that the right of emigration or expatriation was one which any citizen possessed. I told him I could not interfere with them on the ground of their religious faith, however absurd it might be considered to be; that if I could interfere with the Mor-

¹ James K. Polk's Diary, Vol. I, pp. 205-206.

² James Semple (1798-1866), United States senator from Illinois. December, 1843, to March, 1847.

mons, I could with the Baptists, or any other religious sect; & that by the constitution any citizen had a right to adopt his own religious faith. In these views Mr. Semple concurred with me. . . .

PREPARATIONS TO SAIL FOR CALIFORNIA ¹

“In November, 1845, Orson Pratt, who presided over the branches of the Church in the Eastern and Middle States, issued his farewell message to the Saints in those parts, prior to taking his departure for Nauvoo to join the Saints in their removal westward. It had been decided that the MESSENGER, a paper published in New York in the interest of the Church, by Samuel Brannan, should suspend publication and that the editor should charter a vessel and take his press and fixtures, as also a company of Saints from the Eastern branches, by way of Cape Horn, to California, as the distance to travel from that point to their probable destination in the Rocky Mountains, it was thought, would not be so great, and the trip would be attended with much less expense. At the same time those who had sufficient means to buy for themselves teams and outfit were advised to make their way to Nauvoo, to join the Saints there and journey westward.

“In compliance with these instructions Samuel Brannan chartered the ship BROOKLYN. Captain Richardson, and small companies of Saints from the New York and Massachusetts branches of the Church began to gather in New York City, awaiting the date

¹ Historical Record, June, 1889, 874.

of departure from the United States to California. Upon arriving at New York they were directed to a certain boarding house where friends were already waiting."

ELDER SAMUEL BRANNAN TO PRESIDENT BRIGHAM YOUNG ¹

NEW YORK, Jan. 12, 1846.

BROTHER YOUNG:

I have written you three letters of late from Boston, Washington and New York, and I fear they have been intercepted on the way, and I have thought it prudent to direct this to some obscure individual that it may reach in safety; I have received positive information that it is the intention of the Government to disarm you after you have taken up your line of march in the spring, on the ground of the law of nations, or the treaty existing between the United States and Mexico. That an armed posse of men shall not be allowed to invade the Territory of a foreign nation.

Amos Kendall ² was in the city last week, and positively declared that that was the intention of the Government, and I thought it my duty to let you know that you might be on your guard. I declare to all that you are not going to California but Oregon, and that my information is official, Kendall has also learned that we have chartered the ship "Brooklyn" and that Mormons are going out in her, and it is thought that she will be searched for arms, and, if found, taken

¹ Journal History.

² Amos Kendall (1789-1869), postmaster-general from June, 1835, to May, 1840.

from us, and if not an order will be sent to Commodore Stockton on the Pacific to search our vessel before we land.

Kendall will be in the city next Thursday, again, and then an effort will be made to bring about a reconciliation. I will make you acquainted with the result before I leave. My company now numbers about one hundred and seventy-five. I chartered the whole ship, here in the market. I have already obtained one thousand dollars worth of freight for the Sandwich Islands and a good prospect for more. I now have it in my power to learn every movement of the Government in relation to us, which I shall make you acquainted with from time to time. God is at work in the East, and so is the Devil, but Moses' rod will be too hard for him. I feel my weakness and inability and desire your blessings and prayers that I may be successful. My cares and labors weigh me down day and night, but I trust in God that I shall soon have a happy deliverance.

All the Saints in the East are praying and crying for deliverance; but I must now close by subscribing myself, your brother in the everlasting Covenant.

S. BRANNAN.

ELDER SAMUEL BRANNAN TO PRESIDENT
BRIGHAM YOUNG ¹

NEW YORK, January 26, 1846.

DEAR BROTHER YOUNG:

I haste to lay before your honorable body the result of my movement since I wrote you last, which was from this city, stating some of my discoveries in relation to the contemplated movements of the General Government, in opposition to our removal.

I had an interview with Amos Kendall in company with Mr. Benson which resulted in a compromise, the conditions of which you will learn by tending the contract, between them and us, which I shall forward by this mail. I shall also leave a copy of the same with Elder Appleby, who was present when it was signed. Kendall is now our friend and will use his influence in our behalf, in connection with twenty-five of the most prominent demagogues of the country. You will be permitted to pass out of the States unmolested. Their council is to go well-armed, but keep them well secreted from the rabble.

I shall select the most suitable spot on the Bay of San Francisco for the location of a commercial city.

When I sail, which will be next Saturday at 1

¹ Journal History. Tullidge, "Brigham Young," 21-23.

o'clock,² I shall hoist a flag with Oregon on it. Immediately on the reception of this letter you must write Messrs. A. G. Benson and let him know whether you are willing to coincide with the contract I have made for our deliverance. I am aware that it is a covenant with death, but we know that God is able to break it, and will do it. The children of Israel from Egypt had to make covenants for their safety and leave it for God to break them, and the Prophet has said: As it was then, so shall it be in the last days.

And I have been led by a remarkable train of circumstances to say, Amen,—and I feel and hope you will do the same. Mr. Benson thinks the Twelve should leave and get out of the country first and avoid being arrested. You will find a staunch friend in him, and you will find friends, and that a host, to deliver you from their hands. If any of you are arrested, don't be tried west of the Alleghany Mountains. In the East you will find friends that you little think of.

The Saints in the east pray night and day for your safety; and it is mine first in the morning and last in the evening. I must now bring my letter to a close. Mr. Benson's address is No. 39 South Street, and the sooner you can give him an answer the better it will be for us. He will spend one month in Washington to sustain you, and he will do it, no mistake. But everything must be kept as silent as death on our part; names of the parties in particular. I now commit this sheet to the post, praying that Israel's God may pre-

²The "Brooklyn" set sail from New York Feb. 4, 1846 . . . with about two hundred and thirty souls on board, mostly Saints . . . July 31, 1846, we passed the "Golden Gate." . . . (Historical Record, June, 1889, 874-876.)

vent it from falling in the hands of wicked men. You will hear from me again on the day of sailing, if it is the Lord's will,

Amen.

Yours truly,

a friend and brother in God's Kingdom

S. BRANNAN.

ELDER SAMUEL BRANNAN TO PRESIDENT BRIGHAM YOUNG¹

(Copy of a Contract with A. G. Benson)

WHEREAS, the Latter-Day Saints generally known under the name of Mormons, though devotedly attached to the principles on which the Government of the United States and of the several States are founded, have become satisfied that owing to the prejudices against them (which designing men have created in the minds of the great mass of the community who do not appreciate their character, nor understand their designs), they cannot under the jurisdiction of any of the present States enjoy the privileges and security which their constitutions and laws promise to all sects and creeds. And Whereas they have resolved to seek for liberty and security beyond the jurisdiction of the States, and under the fostering care of the United States, within their Territories, not doubting that in becoming a nucleus on the shores of the Pacific, around which a new State shall grow up, constituted of a people who, from their more intimate knowledge of them will be free from those prejudices which now drive them into exile, thereby affording them peace and security, the only bonus they ask at the hands of man, and

WHEREAS, it is their earnest desire to depart in

¹ Journal History.

peace, and reach their future homes, without that molestation on their pilgrimage which the Government of the United States might under a misapprehension as to their designs, feel themselves called upon to offer; and whereas A. G. Benson states that he has it in his power to correct any misrepresentations which may be made to the president of the United States, and prevent any authorized interference with them on their journey, and also to extend to them facilities for emigration, especially by sea, and afford them great commercial facilities and advantages at their new homes, wherefore,

It is covenanted and agreed, between A. G. Benson aforesaid on behalf of himself and such as he may hereafter associate with him on the one part, and Samuel Brannan for and in behalf of the Latter-Day Saints by their principal men, duly authorized on the other part, that the said — shall take the necessary step to guard the said Latter-Day Saints against the effect of misapprehension, and prevent interference with them, by the officers or agents of the United States on their journey westward, and shall, as far as in his power, facilitate trade with them in their new settlement, and promote emigration to strengthen them there; and on the part of the said — for and in behalf of the Latter-Day Saints shall be enabled to reach their new homes without molestation from the Government of the United States, and they or any of them shall acquire lands from the said United States, or from any other source, then one-half of the said lands shall belong and be conveyed to the said Benson and those whom by written contract, he may have associated with him,

his and their heirs and assigns, said lands, if not surveyed, to be held in common until a survey shall be made when they shall be *ipso facto* divided by alternate sections, the odd numbers belonging to the said Latter-Day Saints and the even numbers to the said Benson and his associates, but if surveyed, they shall be divided by sections, half sections, quarter sections, or otherwise, so as to carry into effect this agreement in its true nature and intent; and if the said Saints, or any of them, or the said Brannan, or any of his associates, assigns, or heirs, shall within ten years, lay off and establish any city or cities, town or towns on the lands acquired by them, or any of them, each alternate lot in said cities and towns, shall belong and be conveyed to the said — and his associates and assigns as herein before stipulated in relation to lands acquired, or to the said Saints, as the case may require; and it is further stipulated by the said Brannan, that the said Saints shall exert all their lawful authority and influence to prevent the imposition of any tax on the vacant lands held by said — his associates and assigns, so long as they use due diligence to settle the same, or any higher tax upon vacant city and town lots held by him and them, than shall be imposed on vacant lots held by resident citizens.

And it is further stipulated and agreed by the said Brannan, in behalf of said Latter-Day Saints, that they shall not in any manner on their journey, or after their arrival in the west, violate the laws or constitution of the United States, it being hereby solemnly declared by him, that their dearest object, and most earnest desire is to enjoy, for themselves, their wives, children

and neighbors of whatever religion or political faith, the protection which that Constitution and those laws promised to all men of whatever creed.

Witness our hands and seals at the city of New York on the —— day of January 1846.

SAMUEL BRANNAN

A. G. BENSON.²

Witness W. I. Appleby.

This is only a copy of the original which I have filled out. It is no gammon, but will be carried through, if you say, amen. It was drawn up by Kendall's own hand—but no person must be known except Mr. Benson.

^a The council considered the subject, and concluded that as their trust was in God, and that they looked to Him for protection, they would not sign any such unjust and oppressive agreement.

PREPARATION FOR MOVING WESTWARD ¹

JANUARY 20, 1846.

Nauvoo, Ill.

The High Council published the following:

A Circular of the High Council to the members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and to all whom it may concern:

GREETING

BELOVED BRETHREN and FRIENDS: We, the members of the High Council of the Church, by the voice of all her authorities, have unitedly and unanimously agreed, and embrace this opportunity to inform you, that we intend to send out into the western country from this place, some time in March, a company of pioneers, consisting mostly of young, hardy men, with some families. These are destined to be furnished with an ample outfit; taking with them a printing press, farming utensils of all kinds, with mill irons and bottling cloths, seeds of all kinds, grain, etc.

The object of this early move is to put in a spring crop, to build houses, and to prepare for the reception of families who will start so soon as grass shall be sufficiently grown to sustain teams and stock.

Our pioneers are instructed to proceed west until

¹ Journal History.

they find a good place to make a crop, in some good valley in the neighborhood of the Rocky Mountains where they will infringe upon no one, and not be likely to be infringed upon.² Here we will make a resting place until we can determine a place for a permanent location. In the event of the President's recommendation to build block houses and stockade forts on the route to Oregon becoming a law, we have encouragements of having that work to do, and under our peculiar circumstances, we can do it with less expense to the government than any other people. We also further declare for the satisfaction of some who have concluded that our grievances have alienated us from our country, that our patriotism has not been overcome by fire, by sword, by daylight nor by midnight assassinations which we have endured; neither have they alienated us from the institutions of our country.

Should hostilities arise between the Government of the United States and any other power, in relation to the right of possessing the territory of Oregon, we are on hand to sustain the claim of the United States Government to that country. It is geographically ours; and if our services are required to prevent it, those services will be cheerfully rendered according to our ability. We feel the injuries that we have sustained, and are not insensible of the wrongs we have suffered; still we are American and should our country be invaded we hope to do, at least, as much as

² "Within the Basin of the Great Salt Lake, or Bear River Valley . . . believing that to be a point where a good living will require hard labor, and consequently will be coveted by no other people, while it is surrounded by so unpopulous but fertile a country." ("History of Brigham Young," Bk. 2, 107, August 9, 1846.)

did the conscientious Quaker who took his passage on board a merchant ship and was attacked by pirates. The pirate boarded the merchantman and one of the enemies' men fell into the water between the two vessels, but seized a rope that hung over and pulling himself upon board the merchantman, the conscientious Quaker saw this, and though he did not like to fight, he took his jackknife and quickly moved to the scene, saying to the pirate, "If thee wants that piece of rope I will help thee to it." He cut the rope asunder, the pirate fell, and a watery grave was his resting place.

PART OF A LETTER FROM JESSE C. LITTLE¹
TO PRESIDENT BRIGHAM YOUNG AND
THE COUNCIL OF THE TWELVE
APOSTLES ²

BRETHREN:—In your letter of appointment to me, dated “Temple of God, Nauvoo, January 26, 1846,” you suggest: “If our government shall offer any facilities for emigrating to the western coast, embrace those facilities, if possible. As a wise and faithful man, take every honorable advantage of the time you can. Be thou a savior and a deliverer of that people, and let virtue, integrity and truth be your motto; salvation and glory the prize for which you contend.”

In consonance with my instructions I felt an anxious desire for the deliverance of the Saints and resolved upon visiting James K. Polk, President of the United States, to lay the situation of my persecuted brethren before him, and ask him, as the representative of our country, to stretch forth the federal arm in their behalf. Accordingly I called upon Governor Steele, of New Hampshire, with whom I had been acquainted from my youth, and other philanthropic gentlemen, to obtain letters of recommendation to the heads of departments. I obtained, among others, the following:

¹ Jesse Carter Little (1815-1893) was born¹ in Belmont, Maine. From 1845 to 1874 he was active in the affairs of the church.

² Journal History, July 6, 1846.

PETERBOROUGH, N. H., May 4, 1846.

MR. BANCROFT:³

Dear Sir:—

By desire of Mr. Little, who is the bearer of this, I take the liberty of introducing him to you, and of stating that Elder Little is, as I understand, the presiding Elder in the Northern States, of what are termed the "Mormons," or as they term themselves the Latter-day Saints; and of saying that I have known Mr. Little from his childhood and believe him to be honest in his views and intentions.

Mr. Little visits Washington, if I understand him correctly, for the purpose of procuring, or endeavoring to procure, the freighting of any provisions or naval stores which the government may be desirous of sending to Oregon, or to any portion of the Pacific. He is thus desirous of obtaining freight for the purpose of lessening the expense of chartering vessels to convey him and his followers to California, where they intend going and making a permanent settlement the present summer.

Yours truly,

JOHN H. STEELE.⁴

PETERBOROUGH, N. H., May 4, 1846.

DEAR SIR:—

Without being personally acquainted with you myself, at the request of the bearer, I take the liberty of introducing to you Jesse C. Little, an inhabitant of this town, who is about soliciting some aid from the general government to assist himself and brethren throughout the United States in emigrating to California.

Having been for the last ten or twelve years personally acquainted with Mr. Little, I can cheerfully recommend him as an individual so far as I know, who always sustained a good moral character; a man whose integrity and sincerity

³ George Bancroft (1800-1891), secretary of the navy.

⁴ John Hardy Steele (1789-1865), governor of New Hampshire, 1844-46.

I never heard questioned, and apart from his religious views, of which I have nothing to say, has justly merited, by his industry and enterprise, the respect and confidence of his townsmen and acquaintances.

Yours respectfully,

LUKE WILBER.

HON. HORACE MOULTON,
Washington, D. C.

NEW YORK, May 11, 1846.

SIR: May I ask the favor of you to aid Mr. Little in the object of his visit to Washington as far as your many engagements will permit? He has letters from Governor Steele and other distinguished gentlemen to me in high office in the U. S. which represents him as worthy of their confidence.

Very truly yours,

A. G. BENSON.

MR. AMOS KENDALL,
Washington, D. C.

During the month of May I appointed and attended special conferences in Peterboro, New Hampshire, Boston, Mass., cities of New York and Philadelphia, to take into consideration the most expedient measures for the removal and emigration of the Saints in the Eastern States to California.

At the conference in Philadelphia, May 13th, I addressed the meeting in the forenoon. At the close of the meeting I was introduced, by his request, to Thomas L. Kane,⁵ Esq., son of Judge John K. Kane,⁶

⁵ Thomas L. Kane (1822-1883), studied in Paris, friend of Auguste Comte, believer in civic and religious liberty, defender of the Mormons. In 1858 President Buchanan made use of him to settle the difficulties with the Mormons.

⁶ John K. Kane (1795-1858).

of Philadelphia, who had been present during the meeting; his object in seeing me was to obtain information relative to our people going to California, having a desire to travel with them, in company with the Twelve. I made an appointment to meet him in the evening at his father's. Elder Leonard W. Hardy and William I. Appleby addressed the conference in the afternoon. Elder Appleby was appointed to preside over the Philadelphia branch which numbered one hundred and sixty-four.

After meeting I called upon Mr. Kane. Our interview was very agreeable and so lengthy that I did not return to the hall until the evening meeting was closed, although I had intended to preach. I found him a gentleman indeed; and gave him such information as to our exodus from Nauvoo, the general gathering of the Saints from the Eastern States, and my contemplated mission to the President as was in my power, promising to renew my visit.

May 15th Col. Thomas L. Kane called at my lodging and informed me that he had concluded to go to California with the Twelve, and desired letters of introduction to President Brigham Young. I made an appointment to meet him at his father's on the morrow.

On the 16th I bargained for the printing of a circular which I addressed to the Eastern Churches, in which I gave a synopsis of the minutes of the late conference and a short extract of a letter from Elders Addison Pratt and Benjamin F. Grouard from the Society Islands.

Afternoon, I called upon Col. Kane and spent two hours, agreeably preaching the Gospel to him.

On the 17th I preached twice to large congregations. During the week I preached in Philadelphia; wrote letters with counsel to the brethren, also letters of introduction for Col. Kane to President Brigham Young and Almon W. Babbitt, Esq.

I called upon Col. Kane, found him sick, he had left word that he was unable to see any one, but learning that I had come he sent a servant to ask me to stop and he would get up, which he did, and soon came down stairs. I talked with him three hours upon the work of God, and upon the subject of emigration; to which he listened with great attention. He gave me much information in relation to our affairs in California, and affairs in Washington, D. C., proffering at any future time to aid me in getting appropriations. After drinking a glass of superior wine together, we separated, I left my blessing upon him, and he gave me the following:

Locust Street, Philadelphia, May 18, 1846.

DEAR SIR: Permit me to give an introduction to you, to Mr. Jesse C. Little, late of New Hampshire, who is chief, or ruling Elder, of the Mormons, or Latter-day Saints, east of the Mississippi.

The gentleman, besides being very highly valued by the members of his own sect, is, I learned, esteemed honest and sincere in his profession by many of our friends in this city. He visits Washington, too, I believe, with no other object than the laudable one of desiring aid of the government for his people, who forced by persecution to found a new commonwealth in the Sacramento valley, still retain American hearts,

and would not willingly sell themselves to the foreigner, or forget the old commonwealth they leave behind them.

Your faithful servant,

THOMAS L. KANE.

HON. GEORGE M. DALLAS
Vice-President of U. S.

On the 20th I proceeded to Washington, arrived there on the 21st, and took lodging at Brown's hotel; vituals very indifferently cooked, bread heavy.

22nd. Was unable to eat anything until I went to the Fair where I got some ice cream and strawberries. I proceeded to the Capitol, went into the House of Representatives, where I found too much confusion for a decent, civilized assembly. I went into the Senate, where good order prevailed. After transacting some business, the Oregon question was taken up by Senator Benton, who spoke at considerable length.

After dinner I called upon Amos Kendall, he was sick, I left my letter of introduction from Mr. Benson. I called upon Mr. Wilber of New Hampshire.

At nine p.m. I accompanied Mr. Dane, of Mass., and Mr. King, representative from Mass., to the White House. Had the pleasure of an introduction to President James K. Polk: General Sam Houston and other distinguished gentlemen were present.

23rd. I went into the House of Representatives, called upon Mr. Kendall and showed him my letters of introduction. We talked upon the subject of emigration, and he thought arrangements could be made to assist our emigration by enlisting one thousand of our men, arming, equipping and establishing them in California to defend the country; he said he would be able to in-

form me on Tuesday morning, what could be done. Returned to hotel and wrote letters.

There was considerable excitement in consequence of the news that General Taylor had fought two battles with the Mexicans.

Sunday 24th. Wrote several letters; weather extremely hot.

25th. Called upon Mr. Kendall with whom I had a short interview. I went to the Telegraph office saw them operate, they sent my name to Baltimore and got it back in twenty seconds. Visited at the Capitol; in the Senate Mr. Benton was discussing the Oregon boundary question. I went to the Fair, then returned to hotel and wrote a letter to Almon W. Babbitt, of Nauvoo, asking him to get some conveyance for me, as I expected to go westward and visit the camp.

26th. On my way to the post office I met with Amos Kendall; he informed me that he had laid my case before the President, who determined to take possession of California, and also employ our men, who would receive orders to push through and fortify the country; he also said the President would lay the subject before the cabinet to-day and that to-morrow evening probably he could give me a direct answer.

27th. At eight p.m. saw Mr. Kendall; who informed me the Cabinet had not fully decided; the plan offered was for me to go directly to the camp, and have one thousand men fitted out and plunge into California, officered by our own men, the commanding officer to be appointed by President Polk, and to send one thousand more by way of Cape Horn, who will take cannon and everything needed in preparing defense; those by

land to receive pay for the time I should see them, and those going by water from September 1st.

28th. I visited the Capitol; in the house the subject of closing the session was under consideration. Mr. Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, spoke very spiritedly in relation to some personal remarks.

June 1. Wrote the following appeal to the President of the United States:—

TO HIS EXCELLENCY, JAMES K. POLK.

Dear Sir:— I trust you will excuse me for trespassing upon your time by troubling you with the perusal of this note.

I come to Washington, not, Sir, as an office-seeker actuated by a selfish motive, but as the representative of a noble but persecuted people, and, Sir, allow me to say, that had I not more confidence in you as the father of this great nation, than in those that have immediately preceded you, I should not have left my home and family to ask favors of you for this people.

I am a native American born in the state of Maine, and bred in the Granite state, New Hampshire. My father fought in the battles of the revolution for freedom and liberty, and the blood of my fathers courses through my veins and arouses the spirit of patriotism and hatred to oppression which characterizes my noble ancestors. And, Sir, for this cause, while I know that this people have been driven from town to town, from city to city, from state to state, and last of all compelled to leave their homes and firesides and seek a shelter in a howling wilderness over the Rocky mountains amid prowling beasts of the forest, and the red men of the bush, without house to shelter or arm to save but God's; whose property has several times been confiscated by a mob; they have been whipped and stoned, butchered and murdered, and all this for no other cause than that we worship God differently from our neighbors and according to the Scriptures. We have not only been robbed of our houses, lands and property, but of a *jewel* of far more value than all else—our good names and characters. We have been slandered from morning until night by our ene-

mies, and they have been so far successful that even many good men suppose us to be a set of outlaws and thieves, and that crime and immorality is countenanced by us. But, Mr. President, this is not true—for in all this vast outstretched country over which you bear rule, there are no citizens who are more willing to obey the laws of the land than we are; but, Sir, if we are robbers and thieves as they charge us, why not fill our prisons with those who are guilty, or hang them between the heavens and earth as a monument of our wickedness, and not compel twenty thousand innocent, unoffending men, women and children to leave their homes and their firesides, destitute and without the necessary comforts to take their passage over the prairies and Rocky Mountains to find a new home in the howling wilderness? Look at their behavior when our best and most noble men were butchered at the Carthage slaughter house (the prison) and then look at the mobs in the Eastern county, at Philadelphia, Etc.

No, Sir, these charges heaped upon us are false, and the time will come, Mr. President, when you shall know that we are good men and that our characters are more enduring than the lasting hills; and sir, in justification of our cause, permit me to say that notwithstanding the slander heaped upon us, yet my character stands as high as a moral and upright man as any in the country, and I have the honor to bear letters of recommendation to this city from men of high standing some from his excellency J. H. Steele, Governor of New Hampshire, near whom I have lived from my childhood.

And, Sir, my character is no better than my brethren whom I represent, especially the Twelve of whom all manner of evil is spoken. I have the honor to be personally acquainted with them and know them to be good men; they have eaten, drank, and slept in my house, and I certify that I never received any instructions from them but what was strictly virtuous and moral.

And, under these considerations, directed as it were, by the finger of God, I come to you fully believing that you will not suffer me to depart without rendering me some pecuniary assistance, and be it large or small you shall not lose your reward.

Our brethren in the west are compelled to go and we in the eastern country are determined to go and live, and if necessary, to suffer and die with them. Our determinations are fixed and cannot be changed. From twelve to fifteen thousand have already left Nauvoo for California, and many others are making ready to go. Some have gone around Cape Horn and I trust before this time have landed at the bay of San Francisco.

We have about forty thousand in the British Isles and hundreds upon the Society islands, all determined to gather to this place, and thousands this fall. There are yet many thousands scattered through the States, besides the great number in and around Nauvoo who are determined to go as soon as possible, but many of them are poor but noble men and women, who are destitute of means to pay their passages either by sea or land.

They, as well as myself, are true hearted Americans, true to our country, true to its laws, true to its glorious institutions, and we have a desire to go under the outstretched wings of the American Eagle. We would disdain to receive assistance from a foreign power, although it should be proffered, unless our government shall turn us off in this great crisis and will not help us, but compel us to be foreigners. Means for the gathering of poor we must obtain; thousands are looking to me for help and I cannot, yea, I will not, give myself rest until I find means for the deliverance of the poor. In this thing I am determined, and if I cannot get it in the land of my fathers, I will cross the trackless ocean where I trust I shall find some friends to help. But, Mr. President, were you to act alone in this matter, I full well know your course, I am not ignorant of your good feelings towards us, receiving my information from my friend, Mr. Samuel Brannan, who has gone to California, and also the Hon. Amos Kendall and others; believe me when I say that I have the fullest confidence in you, and we are truly your friends, and if you assist us at this crisis, I hereby pledge my honor, my life, my property and all I possess, as the representative of this people, to stand ready at your call, and that the whole body will act as one man

in the land to which we are going. And should our territory be invaded, we hold ourselves ready to enter the field of battle, and then like our patriot fathers with our guns and swords make the battle field our grave or gain our liberty. We have not been fighting men, but when we are called into the battle field in defence of our country, and when the sword and sabre shall have been unsheathed, we declare before heaven and earth that they shall not return to their scabbard until the enemy of our country, or we, sleep with the pale sheeted nations of the dead, or until we obtain deliverance.

With greatest respect I have the honor to subscribe myself
your

Obedient subject,

J. C. LITTLE.

Agent of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints
in the Eastern States.

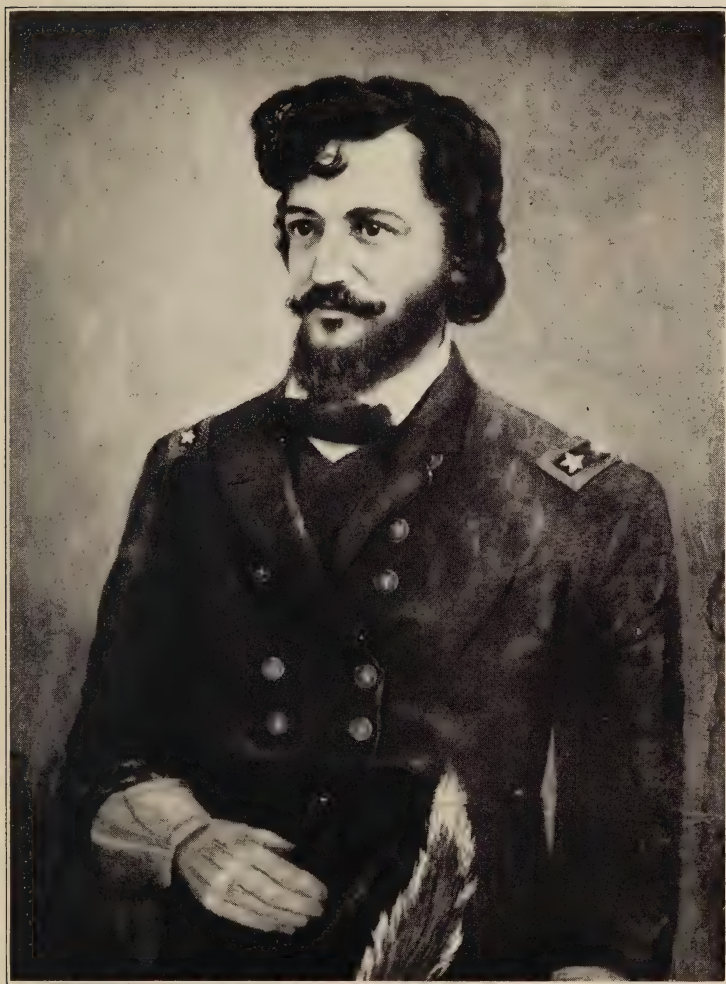
WASHINGTON, June 1.

June 2nd. Went to Post Office, received a kind note from Col. Kane. Visited Mr. Kendall who was from home. Wrote a letter and returned an answer to Col. Kane.

At noon Mr. Kendall, by request of the President, called at my room and said the President had received my communication, and desired to have me call tomorrow at noon and wished Mr. Kendall to be present.

3rd. Mr. McLaughlin, of Texas, offered to give me three hundred and twenty acres of land, if I would go and settle on it; he lives on the land adjoining.

Called on Mr. Kendall, with whom I visited President Polk who said he had no prejudice against the



Courtesy of Elisha K. Kane

GENERAL THOMAS L. KANE

"Mormons," but believed us good citizens, and was willing to do us all the good that was in his power consistently. Said our people should be protected, that he had full confidence in me from information he had received—that he had read my letter with interest, and was glad of an opportunity of having an interview—that he had confidence in our people as true American citizens, if he had not, he should not make such proposals,—he would do something for me, but did not decide; he wished to talk to the Secretary of the Navy, and also wished Mr. Kendall to come to-morrow at twelve. The President was overwhelmed with business; our interview lasted three hours; many came to see him, but were denied the privilege.

I began nine letters to finish when I find out when I shall start for the west.

4th. Wrote several letters. Visited President Polk, agreeable to appointment; press of business had compelled him to send for the secretaries of War and Navy; but said he would meet me next day at noon, without fail; said he hoped I would not get tired waiting.

Received a letter from Col. Kane and answered it this evening. News has arrived that Gen. Taylor has taken Matamoros without resistance.

5th. I visited President Polk; he informed me that we should be protected in California, and that five hundred or one thousand of our people should be taken into the service, officered by our own men; said that I should have letters from him, and from the Secretary of the Navy to the Squadron. I waived the President's

proposal until evening, when I wrote a letter of acceptance.⁷

6th. At ten A. M. I called upon Mr. Kendall, who informed me he had written to the President for me. I went to the White House but the Cabinet were in counsel. Called again in the evening, the President was not in.

I received two notes from Col. Thomas L. Kane, by telegraph, announcing to me he would be here tomorrow morning.

7th. At eight A. M. Col. Kane arrived at Washington, very feeble, having been confined to his bed for sometime. In my letter to him of the 5th, I told him to get up from his couch and his pains should leave him; he did so, and started for Washington against the remonstrances of his physician and his family, and he felt better than when he left home. From some cause he feels very much interested in behalf of our people. After he rested a little we went out to call upon some of the heads of departments; we returned, and dined at Coleman's hotel. We had a pleasant time, drank some wine and talked of the persecutions of our people.

After dinner, Col. Kane called upon Mr. Kendall and Secretary of State, Mr. James Buchanan, and returned at half past nine. Col. Kane and I conversed for two hours; I read him a copy of my appeal to the President with which he was delighted, and wished a copy. He remarked it was singular that I had told him he should be better and that he was here, when twenty-four hours before he was racked with pain.

Col. Kane gave me the following introduction:

⁷ Compare this with Polk's Diary of the same date.

WASHINGTON, Monday, June 8 [1846].

HONORABLE GEORGE BANCROFT,
Secretary of the Navy.

My Dear Sir:

Allow me to introduce to your notice Mr. Little, concerning whom I once before spoke to you. He bears a letter to you from Governor Steele, which fully explains his errand, and can also relate to you that he possesses the confidence of the President; still it may not be amiss that I should inform you that personally he is known to be a man of much truth, and, if the stamp of self-sacrifice on his past life can mark him such, of disinterested honesty.

Most respectfully and faithfully yours,

THOMAS L. KANE.

Col. Kane's health improves; he visited the President and the Secretary of War, Mr. Marcy; he has concluded to go with me to the camp and then to California,⁸ bearing dispatches from the Government.

I called on the President; he was busy, but sent me word to call on the Secretary of War. I went to the war department, but as the Secretary was busy, I did not see him; the President wished me to call at two p.m., which I did, and had an interview with him; he expressed his good feelings to our people, regarding us as good citizens. Said he had received our suffrages and we should be remembered; he had instructed the Secretary of War to make out our papers, and that I could get away to-morrow. He was thronged with office seekers, and is to-day almost worn out with the war matters.

⁸ Owing to illness Colonel Kane went only as far as the Mississippi.

Col. Kane introduced me to George M. Dallas, Vice-President, who is a very pleasant affable gentleman; he urged me to call again upon him if possible.

I made arrangements with Col. Kane preparatory to starting westward. Wrote to Almon W. Babbitt and retired at midnight.

9th I started for Philadelphia, arrived on the 10th, and preached on the 11th.

12th. At eight a.m. I started westward by railway, in company with Col. Thomas L. Kane, who was accompanied to Harrisburgh by his father, Judge Kane, to whom he introduced me. I was highly pleased with the Judge, and before separating he proffered to render any assistance in his power in influencing the Executive in our behalf. He kindly invited me to call on him when I returned.

21st. We arrived in St. Louis, stayed at the Planters house.

22nd. Col. Kane proceeded hence to Fort Leavenworth and I to Nauvoo.

24th. I called upon President Joseph Young and Bishop Edward Hunter, they received me kindly.

30th. I started for the camp.

JESSE C. LITTLE.

PRESIDENT POLK AUTHORIZES THE ENLISTMENT OF THE MORMONS

TUESDAY, 2nd June, 1846.—The Cabinet met to-day; all the members present except the Atto. Gen'l, [who] was detained at his residence by severe indisposition.

The manner of conducting the war with Mexico was the chief topic considered. The expedition against California was definitely settled, the Cabinet being unanimous in favour of such an expedition. In pursuance of a conference on the subject between the Secretary of War and myself on yesterday, the Secretary read the rough draft of an order to Col. Kearney ¹ of the U. S. army, who was designated to command the expedition. Upon several points the order was modified upon my suggestion. It was in substance that as soon as Col. Kearney took possession of Santa Fe, he was to leave a sufficient force to hold it, and proceed without delay with the balance of his command & the mounted men ordered out from Missouri some three weeks ago towards California, if in his judgment he could reach California before the winter set in. 1000 additional mounted volunteers were ordered out from Missouri to proceed to Santa Fe, or follow Col. Kearney to California as he might order. For further particulars see the order of the Secretary of War of this date. I

¹ Stephen Watts Kearney (1794-1848).

submitted to the Cabinet that a large number of cannon, small arms, munitions of war, and provisions should be immediately sent from New York to the Pacific for the use of our army. This was unanimously approved by the Cabinet. It was agreed that Col. Kearney should be authorized to take into service any emigrants (American citizens) whom he might find in California or who may go out with these munitions of War and Military stores. Col. Kearney was also authorized to receive into service as volunteers a few hundred of the Mormons who are now on their way to California, with a view to conciliate them, attach them to our country, & prevent them from taking part against us. Many other matters of detail connected with the expedition were considered. The Cabinet adjourned at about 1½ O'Clock P.M. . . .²

WEDNESDAY, 3rd June, 1846.—. . . Held a conversation with Mr. Amos Kendall & Mr. J. C. Little of Petersborough, N. H. (a mormon) to-day. They desired to see me in relation to a large body of Mormon emigrants who are now on their way from Na[u]voo & other parts of the U. S. to California, and to learn the policy of the Government towards them. I told Mr. Little that by our constitution the mormons would be treated as all other American citizens were, without regard to sect to which they belonged or the religious creed which they professed, and that I had no prejudices towards them which could induce a different course of treatment. Mr. Little said that they were Americans in all their feelings, & friends of the U. S. I told Mr. Little that we were at War with Mexico,

² The Diary of James K. Polk, Vol. I, pp. 443-444.

and asked him if 500 or more of the mormons now on their way to California would be willing on their arrival in that country to volunteer and enter the U. S. army in that war, under the command of a U. S. Officer. He said he had no doubt they would willingly do so. He said if the U. S. would receive them into the service he would immediately proceed and overtake the emigrants now on the way and make the arrangement with them to do so. I told him I would see him on to-morrow on the subject. I did not deem it prudent to tell him of the projected expedition into California under the command of Col. Kearney, who has instructions to make such an expedition this season if practicable. The mormons, if taken into the service, will constitute not more than $\frac{1}{4}$ of Col. Kearney's command, and the main object of taking them into service would be to conciliate them, and prevent them from assuming a hostile attitude towards the U. S. after their arrival in California. It was with the view to prevent this singular sect from becoming hostile to the U. S. that I held the conference with Mr. Little, and with the same view I am to see him again to-morrow. . . .³

FRIDAY, 5th June, 1846.—. . . I had a special interview with Mr. Amos Kendall and Mr. Little of N. H. (a mormon) by previous appointment at their request (see this diary of the 3rd Instant). I told them that I had consulted the Secretary of War, and that the conclusion to which we had come was that the battalion of Mormons of which mention was made on the 3rd Instant, could not be received into the service of

³ The Diary of James K. Polk, Vol. I, pp. 445-446.

the U. S. until they reached California, but that on their arrival there (if the war with Mexico still continued) they would to the number of 500 be mustered into the service of the U. S. as volunteers for 12 months, placing themselves under the command of a U. S. officer who would be there ready to receive them. Mr. Little desired to follow the emigrating party now on their way to California, and on overtaking them to have 500 of their number, mustered into the service of the U. S. so that their pay might commence from that time. This proposition I declined. After Mr. Little retired I explained to Mr. Kendall what I did not think it safe to communicate to Mr. Little, VIZ., that Col. Kearney was ordered to proceed from Santa Fe with a part of his Regiment of dragoons and the mounted volunteers called out from Mo., and it was hoped would reach California this season, but this was not certain; that when Col. K. reached the country he was authorized to receive 500 of the mormons into the service so as to conciliate them and prevent their becoming the enemies of the U. S., but if the mormons reached the country I did not desire to have them the only U. S. forces in the country. I told Mr. Kendall that the citizens now settled in California at Sutter's settlement and elsewhere had learned that a large body of mormons were emigrating to that country and were alarmed at it, and that this alarm would be increased if the first organized troops of the U. S. that entered the country were mormons. To avoid this and at the same time to conciliate the mormons, Col. K. [was authorized] to receive mormons into the service after he reached the country not to exceed in number one

fourth of his whole force. Mr. Kendall assented to the wisdom of concealing these views from Mr. Little. . . .⁴

⁴The Diary of James K. Polk, Vol. I, pp. 449-450.

MISSOURIANS AND MORMONS ¹

INDEPENDENCE, Missouri,

June 23, 1846.

G. A. PARSONS, Adjutant General.

Dear Sir:—

As a citizen of one of the western border counties, to wit—Jackson, I feel it my duty to address you upon a subject of (as I conceive) vast importance to our State. Satisfactory information has reached our county that a body of 1,000 armed Mormons have established themselves upon our frontier about 200 miles above St. Josephs west, upon a portion of unappropriated United States territory, and since the occupation the neighboring tribes of Indians have assumed a more savage bearing and more bold assurance when visiting the settlements than usual. What effect the Mormons have upon them, or what the object of their occupation of such a place *without their families* means I cannot say, but certain it is, they have no friendly feeling toward Missourians. They pretend to have stopped to raise a crop to enable them to move their families to Oregon, or California next year. If

¹ Old Records, A.G.O. Munitions Building.

A true copy:

EARL R. LEWIS

Warrant Officer, U.S.A.

so, let us inquire why they are armed to the teeth, and supported by batteries of heavy ordnance. I would suggest that this matter be investigated and that no more men be called to leave the frontier under any circumstances. I wish to know the strength of the State Armory, and whether arms can be obtained for a company of Infantry, and an equipment and battery, for a company of Artillery for this county, by compliance with the Statute?

Please write me soon,

Yours truly,

J. BROWN HOREY,

Captain 6th Company, 1st Battalion, 33rd Regiment,
1st Brigade, 4th Division, Missouri Militia

MISSOURIANS AND MORMONS ¹

TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

There is a set of men denominating themselves Mormons hovering on our frontier, well armed, justly considered, as depredating on our property, and in our opinion, British emissaries, intending by insidious means to accomplish diabolical purposes, if circumstances favor, we consider it the duty of our common American father, to assume the responsibility, in defence of the "brave and hardy men of the frontier" to take the necessary measures, to disarm them and expel them from our border.

Most respectfully,

L. MARSHALL

(in behalf of Public opinion).

Putnam County, on the Chanton River,
Bordering on Iowa, State of Missouri.
4th July, 1846.

¹ Old Records, A.G.O. Munitions Building.

A true copy:

EARL LEWIS

Warrant Officer, U.S.A.

MISSOURIANS AND MORMONS ¹

J. C. EDWARDS, GOVERNOR OF MISSOURI, TO HON.
W. L. MARCY, SECRETARY OF WAR

CITY OF JEFFERSON
August—10 o'clock P. M.—11, 1846.

HON. WM. L. MARCY,
Secretary of War.

Dear Sir:

The requisition of the 18th of July for a regiment of Infantry to join General Kearney in consequence of a short absence on my part from the seat of government, was not handed me until the 3rd of August.

No footmen were raised in the north west part of the State under the order from General Kearney alluded to in my letter some weeks back in consequence of an aversion in that section of the State to the foot service. I think it was well, as their services may be needed in that quarter to keep the Indians and Mormons in check.

Steps were taken forthwith to raise the ten companies required under your order of the above date. A few

¹ Old Records, A.G.O. Munitions Building.

A true Copy:
EARL R. LEWIS
Warrant Officer, U.S.A.

days afterward, I learned, not officially, but through the newspapers, that General Kearney had procured from the Mormons, a force of about five hundred footmen. If I had not looked upon this as a most dangerous experiment on the part of General Kearney, I might have taken the responsibility of countermanding one half of what I had done to raise the required regiment till I had heard from you, but whatever may be the general opinion to the contrary, I cannot help believing that the enlistment of the Mormons increases the necessity for more troops of a different character.

General Kearney's command consists mostly of Missourians. Between them and the Mormons the most deadly hostility prevails. The hatred of either for the Mexicans does not begin to equal that of the Missourians for the Mormons, or of the Mormons for the Missourians. Such men may well fight against each other, but it would be strange to see them fighting faithfully together in the same cause.

I doubt the friendship of the Mormons for any cause but their own; or for any government, and especially for ours, either State or National. They were driven from their homes in Jackson county, Missouri, again in Clay county, Missouri, and again in Caldwell county, Missouri. They fled to Hancock in Illinois, and now they have been driven from their homes in that county and State. Once they petitioned the United States Government for redress, but their application received little attention, and again they urged it, and with even less prospect of success. They are a bad and deluded sect, and they have been harshly treated; but I suppose very correctly; yet they do not believe so, and

under the treatment which they have received, if they are not enemies, both of our people and our government then they are better Christians and purer patriots than other denominations, a thing which no body in the west can believe.

I understand that Major Lee has written to the War Department that the fall season is an unfavorable one for marching troops to Santa Fe in consequence of the fall rains. On this subject I am not informed, yet I have recommended it to our young men as the most favorable season, being dryer than spring and cooler than summer. The old traders, with whom I have consulted, inform me that the companies should be started at an early day, so as to cross the plains and reach the timber before winter commences. But it may rain. I look for heavy rains here this fall. Our summer has been unusually dry, and very dry summers are apt to be followed by wet falls; but I believe the prospect of rain on the plains no greater than in Washington City.

I think the service will be best promoted by making your requisition full. If the Mormons serve faithfully and General Kearney finds too many men on his hands, some of them had better be sent into the interior of Mexico. From the progress which General Taylor and General Kearney are making, if the latter had the forces, I am persuaded to [believe] would be the first to reach Mexico.

In haste,

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN C. EDWARDS.

ORDER OF SECRETARY OF WAR W. L.
MARCY TO GENERAL KEARNEY TO
MUSTER THE MORMONS INTO
SERVICE ¹

WAR DEPARTMENT,
Washington, June 3, 1846.

SIR:

. . . It is known that a large body of Mormon emigrants are en route to California for the purpose of settling in that country. You are desired to use all proper means to have a good understanding with them to the end that the United States may have their co-operation in taking possession of and holding that country. It has been suggested here that many of these Mormons would willingly enter into the service of the United States, and aid us in our expedition against California. You are hereby authorized to muster into service such as can be induced to volunteer not, however, to a number exceeding one third of your entire force. Should they enter the service they will be paid as other volunteers and you can allow them to designate as far as it can be properly done, the persons to act as officers thereof.

¹Executive Document, No. 60.

Colonel Kearney's order ² to Captain Allen:³

HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF THE WEST,
Fort Leavenworth,
June 19, 1846.

Sir:

It is understood that there is a large body of Mormons who are desirous of emigrating to California, for the purpose of settling in that country, and I have, therefore, to direct that you will proceed to their camps and endeavor to raise from among them four or five companies of volunteers to join me in my expedition to that country, each company to consist of any number between seventy-three and one hundred and nine; the officers of each company will be a captain, first-lieutenant and second lieutenant, who will be elected by the privates and subject to your approval, and the captains then to appoint the non-commissioned officers, also subject to your approval. The companies, upon being thus organized, will be mustered by you into the service of the United States, and from that day will commence to receive the pay, rations and other allowances given to the other infantry volunteers, each according to his rank. You will, upon mustering into service the fourth company, be considered as having the rank, pay and emoluments of a lieutenant-colonel of infantry, and are authorized to appoint an adjutant, sergeant-major and quartermaster-sergeant for the battalion.

The companies, after being organized, will be marched to this post, where they will be armed and prepared for the field, after which they will, under your command, follow on my trail in the direction of Santa Fe, and where you will receive further orders from me.

You will, upon organizing the companies, require provisions, wagons, horses, mules, etc. You must purchase everything that is necessary, and give the necessary drafts upon the quarter-

² D. Tyler, "Concise History of the Mormon Battalion," 113-114.

³ James Allen was born in Ohio in 1806, graduated from West Point in 1829, and died on August 23, 1846.

master and commissary department at this post, which drafts will be paid upon presentation.

You will have the Mormons distinctly to understand that I wish to have them as volunteers for twelve months; that they will be marched to California, receiving pay and allowances during the above time, and at its expiration they will be discharged, and allowed to retain, as their private property, the guns and accoutrements furnished to them at this post.

Each company will be allowed four women as laundresses, who will travel with the company, receiving rations and other allowances given to the laundresses of our army.

With the foregoing conditions, which are hereby pledged to the Mormons, and which will be faithfully kept by me and other officers in behalf of the government of the United States, I cannot doubt but that you will, in a few days, be able to raise five hundred young and efficient men for this expedition.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

(Signed) S. W. KEARNEY,

Colonel of First Dragoons.

To Captain JAMES ALLEN,
First Reg. Dragoons,
Fort Leavenworth.

CIRCULAR TO THE MORMONS ⁴

I have come among you, instructed by Colonel S. W. Kearney, of the U. S. Army, now commanding the Army of the West, to visit the Mormon camps, and to accept the service, for twelve months, of four or five companies of Mormon men who may be willing to serve their country for that period in our present war with Mexico; this force to unite with the Army of the West at Santa Fe, and be marched thence to California, where they will be discharged.

They will receive pay and rations, and other allowances, such as volunteers or regular soldiers receive, from the day they shall be mustered into the service, and will be entitled to

⁴ Tyler, 114-115.

all comforts and benefits of regular soldiers of the army, and when discharged, as contemplated, at California, they will be given, gratis, their arms and accoutrements, with which they will be fully equipped at Fort Leavenworth. This is offered to the Mormon people now.

This gives an opportunity of sending a portion of their young and intelligent men to the ultimate destination of their whole people, and entirely at the expense of the United States, and this advanced party can thus pave the way and look out the land for their brethren to come after them. Those of the Mormons who are desirous of serving their country, on the conditions here enumerated, are requested to meet me without delay at their principal camp at Council Bluffs, whither I am now going to consult with their principal men, and to receive and organize the force contemplated to be raised.

I will receive all healthy, able-bodied men of from eighteen to forty-five years of age.

J. ALLEN, Captain 1st Dragoons.

*Camp of the Mormons, at Mount Pisgah,
one hundred and thirty-eight miles east
of Council Bluffs, June 26, 1846.*⁵

NOTE.—I hope to complete the organization of this battalion in six days after my reaching Council Bluffs, or within nine days from this time.

⁵ As they moved westward in the year 1846 the Mormons established four principal camps: Garden Grove, Mount Pisgah, Council Bluffs, and Winter Quarters. The three first named were between the Mississippi and the Missouri and the last just across the river and a little north of Omaha.

REASON FOR ENLISTMENT ¹

PRESIDENT Brigham Young wrote:

OCTOBER 1, 1848.

. . . I called the battalion brethren together after meeting and blessed them in the name of the Lord for their fidelity to the kingdom of God, told them it was not generally understood why we raised the battalion. We had friends and enemies at Washington; when Pres. Polk could do us a favor he was disposed to do it, but there were those around him who felt vindictive towards us and kept continually harping against us to him; and who thought themselves wise enough to lay plans to accomplish our destruction. The plan of raising a battalion to march to California by a call from the War Department was devised with a view to the total overthrow of this kingdom and the destruction of every man, woman and child, and was hatched up by Senator Thomas H. Benton. Every day our progress was reported in Washington. Our enemies firmly believed we would refuse to respond to the call, and they told Pres. Polk this would prove to him whether we were friends to the Union; and they further advised Polk when the call would be rejected, to say to the States of Missouri and Illinois and the mobocrats the Mormons are at your mercy.

¹ Journal History, 1848, 67.

When Captain Allen read his papers, the power of the Almighty was upon us and it overshadowed him, and he became our friend straight way; if he had lived he would have remained our friend. I said to the praise of the battalion that they went as honorable men doing honor to their calling and the United States, and I was satisfied with all of them; if some had done wrong and transgressed and been out of the way, I exhorted them to refrain therefrom, turn unto the Lord and build up His Kingdom. Who could say he was without sin?

I felt glad that their conduct had proved to their commanders and general that they were their best and most reliable soldiers; and although there were, perhaps, no other people in the Union who would have responded to the call under our circumstances, still it was the best course, as a people, we could have pursued. I further remarked that I saw the whole plan concocted as plain as I saw the faces then before me, and I felt within myself that my faith in God would out general the wickedness of our enemies. Away went the battalion and sword fell on the other side; if they had not gone, we would not have been in the valley now.

All was done for the families of those that went in the battalion that could be under the circumstance. I could say I was as clean as a sheet of white paper and was ready to render an account of my stewardship. There were some feelings between brethren who have been in the army and those not, which are wrong. My fellowship is as pure to one person as another who has been preserved in the gospel covenants.

THE MORMONS AND THE INDIAN LANDS ¹

Sub Agency of Pottawattamie, at Council Bluffs

July 2, 1846

We the undersigned Chiefs and braves representing the Pottawattamie tribe of Indians, near this sub agency, do hereby voluntarily consent that as many of the Mormon people now in, or to come into our country as may wish, from cause of necessity or convenience, to make our land a stopping place, on their present emigration to California, may so stop, remain and make cultivation and improvement upon any part of our lands not now cultivated or appropriated by ourselves, so long as we may remain in the possession of our present country, or so long as they shall not give positive annoyance to our people,

Oh-be-te-zhick (his X mark)

Wash-e-ash-huk (his X mark)

See-ko (his X mark)

Tona-bois (his X mark)

Pat-e-go-shuck (his X mark)

Joseph Lafrombois (his X mark)

Mack-e-towshuck (his X mark)

Mie-en-cos (his X mark)

Nau-kee (his X mark)

Wau-be-me-me (his X mark)

All signed in the presence of

JAMES ALLEN

Capt 1st Dragoons.

¹ Journal History, 98-100.

Head Quarters, Mormon Battalion Council Bluffs

July 16, 1846.

The Mormon people, now enroute to California, raised and furnished for the service of the United States a battalion of volunteers to serve with the army of the West in our present war with Mexico, and many of the men composing this Battalion having to leave their families in the Pottawatomie country, the within permission to a portion of the Mormon people to reside for a time on the Pottawatomie lands, obtained from the Indians on my request, is fully approved by me, and such of the Mormon people as may desire to avail themselves of this privilege are hereby authorized to do so, during the pleasure of the President of the United States.

JAMES ALLEN, Lt. Col. U. S. A.

Commanding Mormon Battalion

Head Quarters, Mormon Battalion U. S. Volunteers,

July 16, 1846.

The Mormon People, now enroute to California, are hereby authorized to pass through the Indian country on that route, and they may make stopping places at such points in the Indian country as may be necessary to facilitate the emigration of their whole people to California, and for such time as may be reasonably required for this purpose.

At such stopping points they may entrench themselves with such stockade works or other fortifications as may be necessary for their protection and defence

against the Indians. This during the pleasure of the President of the United States.

JAMES ALLEN
Lt. Co. U. S. A.

Comdg. Mormon battalion of U. S. Volunteers.

ENLISTMENT

Wednesday, July 1, 1846 ¹

Forty-five minutes after eleven, the Council adjourned to the wagon stand where Pres. Young introduced Captain James Allen, who addressed the people.

He said, he was sent by Col. S. W. Kearney through the benevolence of James K. Polk, President of the U. S. to enlist five hundred of the Mormon men to take part in the war with Mexico and remarked that there were hundreds of thousands of volunteers ready in the States.

He read his orders from Col. S. W. Kearney and the circular which he issued at Mount Pisgah and gave further explanations.

At noon, Pres. Brigham Young addressed the assembly; he wished the brethren to make a distinction between this action of the general government, and their former oppressions in Missouri and Illinois, and remarked: "The question might be asked, Is it prudent for us to enlist to defend our country? if we answer in the affirmative, all are ready to go.

Suppose we were admitted to the Union as a State and the government did not call on us, we could feel ourselves neglected. Let the "Mormons" be the first

¹ Journal History, 1846, 4.

men to set their feet on the soil of California. Capt. James Allen has assumed the responsibility of saying that we may locate at Grand Island, until we can prosecute our journey. This is the first offer we have ever had from the Government to benefit us.

I *proposed* that the five hundred volunteers be mustered, and I would do my best to see all their families brought forward, so far as my influence can be extended and feed them when I had anything to eat myself.

Twenty minutes after twelve, p.m. Captain James Allen said, that he would write to President Polk to give us leave to stay on the route where it was necessary; the soldiers' daily rations would be eighteen ounces of bread and twenty ounces of beef, or twelve ounces of bacon, and they would be paid every two months.

Elder Heber C. Kimball moved that five hundred men be raised, in conformity with the requisition from the government; the motion was seconded by Willard Richards and carried unanimously.

Pres. Young walked out as recruiting sergeant, with his clerk Willard Richards, and took several names as volunteers.

The Twelve and Capt. James Allen repaired to John Taylor's tent. Pres. Young asked the captain if an officer enlisting men on Indian lands had not a right to say to their families, You can stay till your husbands return. Captain Allen replied, that he was a representative of President Polk and could act till he notified President Polk who might ratify his engagements, or indemnify for damage; the President might give per-

mission to travel, through the Indian country, and stop whenever circumstances required.

Half an hour past one p.m. Captain James Allen left camp and the twelve continued to converse on the favorable prospects before the people.

It was noted that Pres. Brigham Young, Elder H. C. Kimball should go to Mount Pisgah to raise volunteers. Pres. Young said, he would start soon, and he desired the companies to be organized, so that it could be ascertained who could go and make camp at Grand Island, and who must remain after raising the troops: the Twelve to go on westward with their families.

About four, Pres. Young and Elder Willard Richards returned to their encampments at the river, whither the teams had gone, and found that some of the President's company had crossed. Elder Heber C. Kimball moved forward with his encampment to the ferry. Pres. Young turned back and informed Brother Kimball that he could not cross; consequently he turned and encamped three quarters of a mile west of the trading point, whither Elder Willard Richards took his family and teams.

Tuesday, July 7, 1846.²

President Young addressed the brethren on the subject of raising a battalion to march to California, and was followed by Elders Jesse C. Little and Heber C. Kimball.

John M. Higbee, Daniel Tyler, Robert Pixton and sixty-three others volunteered.

Half-past three p.m. George W. Langley started

² Journal History.

with a letter to Garden Grove, of which the following is a copy:

Mount Pisgah, July 7, 1846.

President Samuel Bent and Council and the Saints at Garden Grove:

Beloved Brethren:— We write and send by a special messenger at this time, that you may be apprized of the situation and welfare of the Church, and what will be for the good of the saints at your place. Brothers Young, Kimball and Richards arrived last evening direct from Council Bluffs (where they left about eight hundred wagons, passed about the same number on the road, besides the hundreds here and between here and Nauvoo) for the purpose of raising five hundred "Mormon" volunteers to enter into the service of the United States, under the command of Captain James Allen of the United States army, who will be lieut-Col. of the Battalion, each company electing their own officers under Col. Allen, to be marched forthwith to Fort Leavenworth, there receive their arms, ammunition, camp and hospital stores, follow Col. Kearney's trail to Santa Fé, join his standard, pass through the upper provinces of Mexico, into California, where they are to be disbanded at the expiration of one year from the day they leave Council Bluffs, receive the fitout and pay of regular soldiers of the United States army, and have their arms and equipment given them in addition; that they may stay, look out the best locations for themselves and friends, and defend the country. This is no hoax. Elder Little, President of the New England churches, is here also direct from Washington, who has been to see the President on the subject of emigrating the Saints to the western coast, and confirms all that Capt. Allen has stated to us.

The United States wants our friendship, the President wants to do us good, and secure our confidence. The outfit of these five hundred men costs us nothing, and their pay will be sufficient to take their families over the mountains. There is war between Mexico and the U. S. to whom California must fall

a prey, and if we are the first settlers, the old citizens cannot have a Hancock or Missouri pretext to mob the saints. The thing is from above for our good, has long been understood between us and the U. S. Government, but the first blow was struck sooner than we anticipated, the Church would not help the Twelve over the mountains when they wanted to go, and now we will help the churches.

We must take these five hundred men from among the teamsters, and send them without delay. If there is any one among you over eighteen and under forty-five that wants to and can go, let him be at Council Bluffs forthwith. Drummers and fifers are wanted. Where is Bro. Hales and the rest of the band?

The places of these five hundred teamsters-soldiers-must be immediately supplied, and we want you to gather up all the old men and boys and all the others who are capable of going into the army, driving oxen, herding cattle and sheep, milking cows, chopping wood, drawing water, cutting grass, pitching and stacking hay, etc., from the farm, and those who may be in Missouri at work and all others within your call, and dispatch them to Council Bluffs forthwith, or five hundred teams must be left without drivers.

Captain Allen guarantees to us the privilege of staying anywhere we please on Indian lands, if we send these five hundred men to California, but recommends Grand Island, in the Platte River, as the best place. This is the spot we had before contemplated for to winter. There is a salt spring at the head of the Island, where buffalo resort, and we can make our own salt. Thither we want to go without delay, with all the teams of the camp, unload from five hundred to one thousand of the wagons to return immediately to Nauvoo, Garden Grove, etc., and before spring carry to the Platte every poor but honest soul that has no means to go, or every saint who wants to go and cannot.

The fifteen or sixteen hundred teams west of this are mostly loaded with one year's provision, and Garden Grove and Mount Pisgah, we expect, will yield a valuable harvest to be conveyed forward by the teams that will return after the poor.

It is an important item to cut hay for our stock; we have

teams enough in the Church, and they must be fed, and every team and man, that does not return from Grand Island, must go into the grass field without delay. But "Can't I go now?" says one sister; "Do take me," says another. "If my son or my husband goes, I shall go, you are not going to leave me here till you come back," say fifty more. All right, sisters, we are glad to see the spirit of western emigration prevail; we have long heard your cries and listened to your entreaties, and we now listen again in anticipation, and if you must come, clothe yourselves in appropriate garments, straddle your mules and horses, come on and drive teams and pitch hay; if you cannot do this, make yourselves as comfortable as possible till your husbands can go to Grand Island and get a good wagon or carriage to take you on your journey and no whining about it; and when you come up with us in this style of ladies, we will be glad to see and bless you, and we bless you now.

The demand we are making on you for every man and boy (only enough left to watch the farm crops and herds) we shall make immediately in all the regions of Nauvoo, and there must be no deafness on this subject. If the brethren back there do not leave all and come immediately, what will become of our cattle next winter? And if we let them die, what will become of us? Where is our milk and beef? But, say you, "What shall be done with Garden Grove?" Sell it, i. e. the improvements, as soon as you have a chance, and give possession when the crops are removed, and sooner too, if you can get pay for the crops, and come on. Some of the Missourians ought to be glad to give a handsome sum for Garden Grove to get rid of their neighbors.

We want the Bros. Hales in the army as musicians.

For the Council,

BRIGHAM YOUNG, President.

WILLARD RICHARDS, Clerk.

The brethren counted and reported two hundred and five wagons at Mount Pisgah, which with those on the road and at head quarters make a total of eighteen hundred and five wagons.

Mount Pisgah, July 7, 1846.³

Gen. Babbitt, Heywood and Fullmer, Trustees etc. [Nauvoo, Illinois.]

Beloved Brethren:—We send you another leaf of the Gospel, which you know is glad tidings, or that which bringeth salvation, and we feel assured, that you will consider that salvation, which shall deliver you from the care, trouble and anxiety of raising teams to ship the poor saints over the Mountains, and this is the Gospel we send. We received yours of the 26th ult. from Bro. Fullmer's pen by Bro. Little yesterday, a few miles west of this, while on our way to this place, where Bros. Young, Kimball and Richards now are.

The enclosed orders of Col. Kearney to Captain Allen and his circular to the Mormons, together with the information you received from Bro. Little, will give you some idea of the object of their visit to this place, which is, to raise the five hundred volunteers to march into California, as United States soldiers. But this time you will probably exclaim: Is this Gospel. We answer yes. we shall raise these five hundred men from among those who are driving teams between this and Council Bluffs and at those places. One thousand and five teams have been counted between the east line of Missouri encampment and the east line Mount Pisgah and it may be safely calculated there are eight hundred wagons at the Missouri encampment; from these eighteen hundred wagons, will volunteer five hundred men, who will probably march from Council Bluffs within one week, for California by way of Santa Fe under command of Lieut. Col. James Allen all lesser officers to be filled with our own men. The terms specified in the enclosed orders and circular. This will leave five hundred teams destitute of drivers, which we want you to furnish us with forthwith and five hundred more to help take care of our stock etc. for we are quite too destitute of help.

And now, brethren, does this look like Gospel to you? You will probably say, no; we cannot do it. Every man is engaged to get means to get away with his family, and it is as much as they can do to take care of themselves. And we need help

³ Journal History, 1846, 34.

instead of furnishing it. What can we do! We will tell you, Call upon all the old men the young men and boys, big enough to drive cattle and who want to emigrate west, and put them on the road to Council Bluffs without delay, leaving their women, children and effect behind them taking only a few baggage wagons, enough to furnish them with provision, and let them not tarry till they come up to us. They will immediately join the camp taking the places of those who shall have gone into the army. And the camp will move with all possible dispatch to Grand Island, in the Platte river, at the head of which buffalo resort; where we can winter our stock, if we can raise help enough to cut and gather the grass.

But how is this going to deliver us? say you: not much gospel in this yet; be patient, brethren, the day is dawning, don't stop to ask us any questions yet; but send us on every man and boy you can without delay, and they will proceed with us to the island and you go to building houses and forts, and making hay; and secondly, we wish you to lose no time in ascertaining the number of men, women, and children in Hancock county, Lee county, St. Louis and other places so far as you have the opportunity who are desirous of moving west and have not teams to carry them (we mean saints such as are worthy of help) and send us report without delay, so that we may not get it before we reach the island; then, when we shall arrive at this island, we will unload five hundred or a thousand teams, if necessary, and send them immediately back to Nauvoo and gather up every helpless soul and take them to the island. While those at the island will be making every possible preparation for their reception in houses, hay, etc., and if every one is diligent, we expect the whole Church will be together, at that point before winter closes upon us. That is the Gospel, Captain Allen has pledged himself on the part of the United States that we may stop wherever we choose on Indian lands, in consideration of the five hundred volunteers.

If you sell the Temple etc. buy no more teams, for we have as many in the Church as can be taken care of at present, and enough to do the business of the Church. Keep your monies safely, paying off the Temple hands etc. and come and see us without delay; if more teams are wanted hereafter, as it now

is at Nauvoo, and perhaps ten times as much. Instead of the brethren buying oxen, wagons, etc., let them gather to themselves, cash, flour, meal, wheat, corn, dry goods and groceries, and be ready to load up when our teams return for them.

Now, brethren, is the time for action, and if you succeed in selling all our property in Hancock county, and we unitedly succeed in removing all the poor Saints this fall, we shall soon be where we can rejoice in each others society, and by early spring, can move a portion of the camp over the mountains and next year plant our corn in yonder valley. This is the first time the government has stretched forth its arm to our assistance, and we received their proffers with joy and thankfulness. We feel confident the Battalion will have little or no fighting. Their pay will take their families to them. The Mormons will then be the older settlers and have a chance to choose the best locations. The principle of the thing is not new to us, though we have thought best to say but little about it; it is all right and we will give you particulars the first opportunity.

We have an offer of building a mill and making some other provements, fifteen miles above the Bluffs on this side the Missouri river, where are plenty of rushes to winter any amount of cattle; but it is doubtful about our doing the job, unless some of the brethren who are back should come on and take it. The brethren coming on will do well to get their flour at Bonaparte mill. If you have the means, please to send on Thomas Bullock and family, as we frequently need more writers.

We wish you to direct that the mail be stopped at the Post Office at Mount Pisgah; heretofore it has passed this place without calling, carrying letters to the general camp, which should have been left here.

For the Council.

President BRIGHAM YOUNG and WILLARD RICHARDS, clerk

Wednesday, July 8.⁴

. . . Most of the volunteers started for Council Bluffs, after receiving instructions from Gen. [Charles

⁴Journal History.

C.] Rich, President Young and Bros. Kimball and Richards.

Thursday, July 9.

Forty minutes after two p.m., the Presidency, escort and Bro. Little left for the Bluffs. About five they bated their animals on the prairie, then rode till midnight, and stopped at James Bean's encampment, four or five miles west of Bramble Hill. Traveled about thirty-three miles.

Friday, July 10, 1846.

Cloudy morning. Started at half past four a.m., rode half a mile and breakfasted with Samuel and Daniel Russell.

(Ten minutes after six they started again arrived at Mosquito Creek on the afternoon of the 12th.)

Sunday, July 12.

At six o'clock p.m. the council met and wrote to Orson Pratt and others of the council, who were across the Missouri, to notify all those who had enlisted, or wanted to enlist, to meet at headquarters, near Mosquito Creek [Pratt's and Taylor's encampment] at ten a.m. to-morrow and all others of the brethren to meet at the same place at noon, with Capt. Allen and Col. Thomas L. Kane, son of Judge John K. Kane of Penn., who had come westward expecting to go on with the "Mormon" troops to California; also sent messengers to the different camps east of Keg Creek to meet at the same time and place. . . .

Monday, July 13.

The brethren began to assemble according to appointment; Col. Thomas L. Kane and Captain James Allen were present. About eleven o'clock, a.m., Major (Jefferson) Hunt called out the first company of volunteers.

President Young met with Col. Kane in Elder Woodruff's carriage, and conversed about the state of the nations. The President told Col. Kane the time would come when the Saints would support the government of the U. S. or it would crumble to atoms.

The following minutes of meeting were taken by Willard Richards and William Clayton:

Forty minutes after twelve p.m. the brethren assembled under the bowery. There were present of the Twelve: President Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball, Orson Hyde, Parley P. Pratt, Orson Pratt, John Taylor, Wilford Woodruff, George A. Smith, Amasa M. Lyman, Willard Richards and Ezra T. Benson; also Captain James Allen, Col. Thomas L. Kane and Elder Jesse C. Little.

Music by the band.

President Young requested silence and good order, and said: "I would be glad to offer a great many ideas, but our time is limited. The business to be laid before you to-day is the call upon us from the war department to furnish five hundred volunteers for the army of the West to march for California.

"It is not new for me to say that every man is well employed; I am as well acquainted with the situation of every man in camp as they are themselves. At this

time surrounding circumstances must recede from our minds, let them go, we may as well consider ourselves in good circumstances as in bad ones; but says one, I will go if my family can be made comfortable; I told the brethren not to mention families to-day. I am aware it is necessary, were it our privilege to have every man's presence in the camp, to take care of his family and team and go along, and there are no more men than are needed, but they have got to be dispensed with. We have to learn to control our feelings and act according to our best judgment.

"My experience has taught me that it is best to do the things that are necessary and not keep my mind exercised in relation to the future. I have learned to do the things necessary independent of my feelings and at the expense of every thing near and dear to me. Many have been called upon to forsake the society of friends, wives and children and you will all be brought into a situation to learn the same lesson.

"The blessings we are looking forward to receive will be attained through sacrifice. We want to raise volunteers. Are we willing to undergo hardships and privations to procure that which we desire? I say, we can do it; some have said they did not see the propriety of going, and that the Twelve did not realize their peculiar circumstances. When the time comes for preaching we will preach, but we have not time to reason now. We want to conform to the requisition made upon us, and we will do nothing else till we have accomplished this thing.

"If we want the privilege of going where we can worship God according to the dictates of our con-



BRIGHAM YOUNG

science, we must raise the Battalion. I say it is right; and who cares for sacrificing our comfort for a few years. I would rather have undertaken to raise two thousand men a year ago in twenty-four hours than one hundred in one week now. The brethren have not got their gardens planted, nor their farms to depend on. We want the five hundred men, and if we had known before the extra men were sent back after their families, we could have had more readily. We can muster them now. We can do what other people cannot. All the fighting that will be done will be among yourselves.

“There are more than eight hundred men on the way from Mount Pisgah, but we do not want to wait for them; we can raise five hundred right here, and those who come up will take care of the teams you leave. Every man that enlists will have his name and the names of his wife and children inserted in a book, and what directions you have to give in relation to them; and if we find that we have more families than we can take forward, we will take them to Grand Island and leave men to take care of them till we go and return to fetch them, and we will bring all the families from Nauvoo before we stop. We have got as many teams as we can take care of; it is not good policy to have too much stock. After we get through talking, we will call out the companies, and if there are not young men enough, we will take the old men, and if there are not enough, we will take the women.”

Col. Thomas L. Kane arose and apologized for not speaking on account of sickness, but felt to endorse all that the men of the camp would say.

Elder Orson Hyde said: “The work is laid out and

it is for us to perform; we have petitioned the government repeatedly to redress our wrongs; hitherto there has been no effort to do it, and our spirits have been discouraged, but recollect large bodies move slowly. When the Savior was crucified the Apostles said they would go a fishing, but an angel appeared to assuage their grief. Although you may think you are going to be led to the field of battle my opinion is that it will result in your obtaining peaceable possession of a home, and He who sent the quail may send us means of deliverance. Arise, then, the standard is raised, the call is made; shall it be in vain? No, let us rally to the standard and our children will reverence our names; it will inspire in them gratitude which will last for ever and ever."

President Brigham Young said: "Two gentlemen at Mount Pisgah, who had been to Fort Leavenworth and enlisted to go to Mexico, said that Col. Kearney had discharged some of the Missouri troops, and when they heard we were going they felt exceedingly mortified. There are thousands in the United States who would be glad to be the first settlers of California.

"The revolutionary fathers attributed their victory to Providence, and we reverence them. Well, we are expecting to go to that country. What are the laws of that country? That there shall be no religion but the Roman Catholic.

"We have lived near so many old settlers who would always say 'Get out,' that I am thankful to enjoy the privilege of going to settle a new country. You are going to march to California; suppose the country ultimately came under the government of the United

States, which it ought to, we would be the old settlers and if any man comes and says 'Get out,' we will say 'Get out.' Now, suppose we refuse this privilege what will we do? If you won't go, I will go and leave you. We told you sometime ago we would fit you out to go, and now we are ready to fit you out with Captain Allen as the agent of the United States to help us. The President has now stretched out his hand to help us and I thank God and him too.

"It is for us to go, and I know you will go. Captain Dan C. Davis and his company are ready to a man, but we do not want to wait for them. As soon as you start we will organize and take your families to a place of safety beyond the power of our enemies in Illinois and Missouri, and we will let them alone severely. I will promise this company, if God spares my life, that your families shall be taken care of and shall fare as ours do. We have sent men back to Nauvoo and through the country to tell them we have got teams enough and your families will be taken care of."

President Young then requested that if the company was satisfied with the arrangement spoken of, with regard to their families they would show it. There was a universal favorable vote. The president then made some remarks on the distinction of office, etc., in the companies; said that a private was to be honored in his place as much as an officer. If the brethren wished him to nominate men for officers he should select men of judgment, experience and faith who would take care of the lives of their men.

It was voted unanimously that President Young

and his council nominate the officers for the several companies as far as he thought proper.

Captain Allen said he was ready to receive the names as fast as he could; but he wished to suggest that the time wasted here would have to be made up on the way; if he could enroll the men soon enough for the expected boat, he would embark them for Fort Leavenworth and save the march.

Elder Orson Pratt suggested the importance of a rapid movement, so as to cross the mountains west of Santa Fe before snow falls.

Captain Allen said: In regard to what is necessary to take, a soldier received money instead of clothing, and he could not tell exactly what it would cost. The price of clothing is greater the first year than any year after; the probable price would be two dollars and fifty cents per month, but he had learned that Mr. Benton had made a motion to have it fixed at three dollars and fifty cents per month. Each soldier will carry his clothing, blanket and great coat, a shirt, pantaloons, socks and shoes on his back; as to clothing, take that which you use every day, if you choose. You had better take woollen clothing, which will last; blankets can be procured here and they are necessary. Mr. Sarpee has got plenty and will sell them as low as you can get them in St. Louis, and he will wait for his pay until it can be deducted out of the men's pay, as his trade will be broken up this season, you can get them better and cheaper from him than any where else. You will want knives.

President Young said that the men would want tin cups, and when the companies were made up he and

others would want to give them instructions alone, pertaining to the importance of their journey. It was not necessary for the brethren to change their clothing; they could not ask for anything more acceptable than this mission.

Captain Allen said the volunteers would find merchandise at Fort Leavenworth, Bent's Fort and Santa Fe at reasonable prices; the prices were fixed by officers of the government. He advised the men not to carry too much clothing, as they might get tired of it and throw it away.

President Young stated that Captain Hunt's company was full, and suggested Jesse D. Hunter for captain of Company No. 2. He said that those who went on this expedition would never be sorry, but glad to all eternity; but those who were not here to go would be sorry.

The officers would be nominated according to rank. Parley P. Pratt led out the second company; Jesse D. Hunter was nominated captain. He had gathered seventy three men.

Orson Hyde gathered another company, numbering seventy-three.

At three o'clock p.m. the meeting was dismissed for one hour.

At five o'clock the council convened and nominated officers for company "C." The Companies were dismissed till eight the next morning.

About six o'clock the council, Captain Allen, Col. Kane and a large party of the Saints assembled inside the Bowery and danced to the music of the band until near dark, when the exercises closed with a song,

"The Maid of Judah," by Susan Devine, and benediction by President Young.

At nine a.m. the first company of the Battalion commenced to make out their muster roll.

At half-past ten, the fourth company was filled up and marched out under Orson Pratt. The council nominated their officers. President Young recommended George P. Dykes to be adjutant of the Battalion. At five the volunteers from Mount Pisgah arrived.

July 15.

President Young suggested that the soldiers might tarry and go to work where they would be disbanded. He said the next Temple would be built in the Rocky Mountains and he would like the Twelve and the old brethren to live in the mountains, where the Temple would be erected, and where the brethren would have to repair to get their endowments. He could prophesy that the time would come when some of the Twelve or a High Priest would come up and ask: "Can we not build a Temple at Vancouver Island, or in California?" It was now wisdom for the Saints to unite all their forces to build one house in the mountains.

Captains Hunt and Hunter called on the council and received instructions to ascertain how much wages each soldier would be paid at Fort Leavenworth. Five o'clock was appointed for volunteers to enlist for the fifth company.

Thursday, July 16.

Elder Wilford Woodruff recorded the following: "This was an interesting day in the camp of Israel.

Four companies of the volunteers were brought in a hollow square by their captains, and interestingly addressed by several of the Twelve. At the close of the meeting they marched in double file from Redemption Hall across the Missouri River bottom to the ferry, seven miles.

"The Battalion have thus stepped forth promptly and responded to the call of the government, notwithstanding the persecutions endured in the United States, and that too in the midst of a long journey, leaving families, teams and wagons standing by the way side, not expecting to meet or see them again for one or two years."

July 17.

Forty or fifty volunteers were called for to fill the fifth company of the Battalion. President Young remarked that hundreds would eternally regret that they did not go when they had a chance. Elder Heber C. Kimball urged the importance of enlisting to fill up the requisition for volunteers.

Half-past ten: Meeting adjourned a few minutes to fill up the companies. Half-past eleven: meeting re-assembled. Elder H. C. Kimball called for volunteers to work on the road over the river, and a contribution for brother Yoku, who was shot in Missouri by the mob. . . .

President Young asked the volunteers to leave their pay for the benefit of their families, and directed the Bishops to keep correct account of all moneys and other property received by them, and how disposed of,

at the risk of being brought before the council and reproved. . . .

July 18.

Forty minutes after five, the Presidency met the commissioned and non-commissioned officers in council in the Cottonwoods near the bank of the river.

Complete lists of families and property and amount of wages to be drawn at Fort Leavenworth were called for, but were not ready. Council suggested that persons be selected to receive the money.

President Young instructed the captains to be fathers to their companies and manage their affairs by the power and influence of their Priesthood; then they would have power to preserve their lives and the lives of their companies and escape difficulties. The President told them he would not be afraid to pledge his right hand that every man would return alive, if they would perform their duties faithfully, without murmuring and go in the name of the Lord, be humble and pray every morning and evening in their tents. A private soldier is as honorable as an officer, if he behaves as well. No one is distinguished as being better flesh and blood than another. Honor the calling of every man in his place. All the officers but three have been in the Temple. Let no man be without his under garment and always wear a coat and vest; keep neat and clean, teach chastity, gentility and civility; swearing must not be admitted, insult no man; have no contentious conversation with the Missourian, Mexican, or any class of people; do not preach, only where people desire to hear, and then be wise men. Impose not

your principles on any people; take your Bibles and Books of Mormon; burn cards if you have any.

Let the officers regulate all the dances. If you come home and can say the captains have managed all the dancing, etc., it will all be right; to dance with the world cannot be admitted; all things are lawful, but not expedient; never trespass on the rights of others; when the Father has provided that a man will be his friend under all circumstances, he will give to that man abundantly, and withhold no good thing from him. Should the battalion engage with the enemy and be successful, treat prisoners with the greatest civility, and never take life if it can be avoided.

Elder Heber C. Kimball concurred in what had been said, and exhorted the brethren to humility and prayer, that God might lead them in paths, and before the people in a manner to get as great a name as any people since the days of Moses; advised them to hold their tongues and mind their own business; if they were sick, they had the privilege of calling the Elders, and rebuking all manner of diseases.

Elders John Taylor and Parley P. Pratt concurred in what had been said.

President Young spoke of President Polk's feelings towards the Saints as a people,—assured the brethren that they would have no fighting to do; told them the Saints would go into the Great Basin, which was the place to build Temples; and where their strongholds should be against mobs. The Constitution of the United States was good. The Battalion would probably be disbanded about eight hundred miles from the place where the body of the Church should locate.

Bishop Newel K. Whitney, Daniel Spencer and Jonathan H. Hale were proposed as agents to go to Fort Leavenworth and receive the pay of the soldiers for their families.

After much conversation and explanation the meeting adjourned and the brethren returned to camp about sunset. President Young and Brother Kimball retired to Ezra Chase's and Brothers Richards and Little to Brother Boss' tent.

Monday, July 20.

Col James Allen wrote the following:

Headquarters, Mormon Battalion,
Council Bluffs, July 20, 1846.

DEAR SIR:—

Col. Kane has informed me of your intended departure for the East, and of your desire that I would express to you my opinion concerning the character of the Mormon people, as derived from my observation among them on my present duties.

I have been intimately associated with the people since the 26th, as my duty required, in raising the battalion of volunteers now under my command.

In the hurry of business connected with my immediate march upon this place I have only time to say that in all of my intercourse with the Mormons I have found them civil, polite and honest as a people. There appears to be much intelligence among them, and particularly with their principal men or leaders, to whom I feel much indebted for their active and zealous exertions to raise the volunteer force that I

was authorized to ask for, for the service of the United States.

The President of the Council, Mr. Brigham Young, is entitled to my particular thanks. All of this people are entirely patriotic, and they have come not only with cheerfulness, but under circumstances of great difficulty to them, to enlist themselves in the service of their country.

In my official report to the War Department, which I shall make on my arrival at Fort Leavenworth, I will speak more fully of the community of the Mormon people or Mormon Church, and will here say that I think them as a community and in their circumstances deserving of a high consideration from our government.

Very respectfully,
Your obedt. Servant,
JAMES ALLEN,
Lieut-Col. commanding
Mormon Battalion.

To Jesse C. Little Esq.

July 21, 1846.

After dinner, in company with several of the brethren, President Brigham Young rode to the ferry and arrived about five; found that four companies of the Mormon Battalion had marched about three o'clock. He conversed with Col. James Allen and Col. Thomas L. Kane while waiting for the boat. Col. Allen remarked he knew of no road from Santa Fe to Cali-

fornia, and he might probably return to the South Pass. President Brigham Young bade him farewell, crossed the Missouri River and arrived at his camp about sunset.

MORMON BATTALION AUTHORIZES THE
PAYMENT OF CHECKS TO REPRESENTA-
TIVES OF THE MORMON CHURCH ¹

COUNCIL BLUFFS, east side,
Missouri River,
July 21, 1846.

Messrs. NEWEL K. WHITNEY, JOHN H. HALE and
DAN SPENCER.

Gentlemen :—

We, the undersigned officers of Company A of the Mormon Battalion of the U. S. Army, on behalf of the members of said company, hereby authorize you to receive the payment of the cheques returned by the members of said company, and apply them to such uses as may be specified thereon, or as specified on the return list already tendered to you. You will thus confer a favor on us.

JEFFERSON HUNT, Captain
GEORGE W. OMAN, 1st Lieut.
LORENZO CLARK, 2nd. Lieut.

On the 21st of July, at 12 o'clock noon, we took up the line of March for Ft. Leavenworth, 200 miles distant, the men keeping time to "The Girl I Left Behind Me." It was a solemn time with us as we were leaving

¹ Journal History.

families and friends and near and dear relatives, not knowing how long we should be absent, and perhaps we might never see them again in this life. I bid my folks farewell and did not see them again for 9 years.²

² Journal History. Bigler's Journal.

THE LEAVE-TAKING ¹

. . . There was no sentimental affectation at their leave-taking. The afternoon before was appropriated to a farewell ball; and a more merry dancing rout I have never seen, though the company went without refreshments, and their ball-room was of the most primitive. It was the custom, whenever the larger camps rested for a few days together, to make great arbors or boweries, as they called them, or poles, and brush, and wattling, as places of shelter for their meetings of devotion or conference. In one of these, where the ground had been trodden firm and hard by the worshipers of the popular Father Taylor's precinct, was gathered now the mirth and beauty of the Mormon Israel.

If anything told the Mormons had been bred to other lives, it was the appearance of the women, as they assembled here. Before their flight, they had sold their watches and trinkets as the most available resource for raising ready money; and, hence, like their partners, who wore waistcoats cut with useless watch pockets, they, although their ears were pierced and bore the loop-marks of rejected pendants, were without ear-rings, finger-rings, chains, or brooches. Except such ornaments, however, they lacked nothing most becoming the attire of decorous maidens. The neatly darned white stocking, and clean, bright petticoat, the

¹Address delivered by Thomas L. Kane before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania on March 26, 1850. (Tyler, 80-82.)

artistically clear-starched collar and chemisette, the something faded, only because too well washed, lawn or gingham gown, that fitted modishly to the waist of the pretty wearer—these, if any of them spoke of poverty, spoke of a poverty that had known its better days.

With the rest, attended the Elders of the Church within call, including nearly all the chiefs of the High Council, with their wives and children. They, the gravest and most troubleworn, seemed the most anxious of any to be the first to throw off the burden of heavy thoughts. Their leading off the dancing in a great double cotillion, was the signal bade the festivity commence. To the canto of debonair violins, the cheer of horns, the jingle of sleigh bells, and the jovial snoring of the tambourine, they did dance! None of your minuets or other mortuary processions of gentles in etiquette, tight shoes, and pinching gloves, but the spirited and scientific displays of our venerated and merry grandparents, who were not above following the fiddle to the Fox-chase Inn, or Gardens of Gray's Ferry. French fours, Copenhagen jigs, Virginia reels, and the like forgotten figures executed with the spirit of people too happy to be slow, or bashful, or constrained. Light hearts, lithe figures, and light feet, had it their own way from an early hour till after the sun had dipped behind the sharp sky-line of the Omaha hills. Silence was then called, and a well cultivated mezzo-soprano voice, belonging to a young lady with fair face and dark eyes, gave with quartette accompaniment a little song, the notes of which I have been unsuccessful in repeated efforts to obtain since—a

version of the text, touching to all earthly wanderers:

“By the rivers of Babylon we sat down and wept.”

“We wept when we remembered Zion.”

There was danger of some expression of feeling when the song was over, for it had begun to draw tears! but breaking the quiet with his hard voice, an Elder asked the blessing of heaven on all who, with purity of heart and brotherhood of spirit had mingled in that society, and then all dispersed, hastening to cover from the falling dews. . . .

JOURNAL OF HENRY STANDAGE ¹

*Friday, June 5.*² Amos Fielding came up to the encampment about seven a.m. and again wanted to know what he should say to the British Joint Stock Company.³ Pres. Brigham Young said he had no counsel because Ward and Hedlock ³ were not subject to counsel; but, if they were disposed to purchase the Great Basin for the Church, he thought it would be a good investment. Traveled fourteen miles and camped on the prairie near a Shoal Creek, having forded what was supposed to be the west branch of Grand River, and found the Indian trail to Council Bluffs.

Sabbath⁴

Today I attended meeting at Council Bluffs,⁵ preaching by Elder F. P. Pratt,⁶ when much was said on the necessity of our obedience to the call of the President of the U. S. to enlist in the service of the U. S. for one year; and on finding the 5th. Co. yet needing some men I felt willing to leave my friends and enlist according to council, though at this time my wife was without house or tent, and with but little provisions, 3

¹ Henry Standage, private in Company E, was born February 26, 1818, in London, England, the son of William Standage and Elizabeth Howard. He emigrated to America in 1835, came to Utah in October, 1847, died in Mesa, Arizona, May 8, 1899.

² Journal History, 1846, 192.

³ It has not been possible to get additional information about these men and about the British Joint Stock Company.

⁴ Sunday, July 19, 1846.

⁵ Council Bluffs, Iowa. The seventh census (1850) gives the population of Council Bluffs as 3000.

⁶ Parley P. Pratt, one of the Twelve Apostles of the church from 1835 to 1857, was born April 12, 1807, in Burlington, New York, the son of Jared Pratt and Charity Dickinson. He came to Utah in the autumn of 1847. He was assassinated May 13, 1857, while on a mission to the Eastern States.

dollars in money, one cow and property belonging to Joseph Pierce to take care of. Accordingly after meeting I gave my name to Cap. Hunt as a soldier though not without counsel from Elder Benson of the Quorum of the 12.

20. This morning I arose early to prepare for to join my Co., which was 10 miles distant on the Missouri River. Went to Bro. Ira Eldridge ⁷ and besought him to permit my mother to make it her home with him till I could be free to take care of her. When he agreed to be a son to my mother, and I accordingly left her with him promising to recompense him, as soon as I was able and opportunity would offer. About 9 o'clock I took my knapsack and left the camp of Israel ⁸ leaving my wife and Mother in tears, and reached the Co. at noon. This afternoon I received a blanket of Government, and commenced to draw rations also.

21. Rained today till noon when the 4 first companies took their line of march and the 5th tarried at the Bluffs.

22. The 5th. Co. left this morning and we took ⁹ the rest of the Battalion at Musquite Creek ¹⁰ 5 miles distant and travelled today 18 m. One of our number died this evening; his name was Samuel Bowley ¹¹ of Co. B.

23. This morning we buried Bowley in his blanket and resumed our march and traveled 26 miles.

24. Today we again moved slowly along and encamped by a place near the County seat of Atchison Co., ¹² traveled 20 M.

25. Traveled 18 m. weather very warm, some of the brethren sick ¹³ and obliged to ride in the baggage wagons.

⁷ Ira Eldredge, a Utah pioneer of 1847, was born March 30, 1810, in Vermont, became a member of the church in 1840, and spent the winter of 1846-47 at Winter Quarters. He came to Utah in 1847 and died in Salt Lake City February 6, 1866.

⁸ The encampment of the Mormons was referred to as "the Camp of Israel."

⁹ Overtook.

¹⁰ Mosquito Creek, a small stream, about forty miles in length, that rises in Shelby County, Iowa, and flows in a southwesterly direction into the Mississippi about ten miles below Council Bluffs.

¹¹ Boley.

¹² A county in the extreme northwestern corner of Missouri of which Rockport is the county seat.

¹³ The Mormons "believe in the gift of tongues, prophecy, revela-

Battalion generally in good spirits, flour scarce, and last night had parched corn for supper.

26. Sabbath. Weather unaccountably warm, traveled 21 *m* and encamped by a small branch; very pleasant place.

27. To day we passed through a small town called Oregon,¹⁴ and camped on the river Noddoway.¹⁵ Today a man hired to bring a load of flour from Oregon to our camping place had a falling out with the Sergnt-Major and refused to come to the camp this night. (Did not like to be ordered by a Mormon) entered his complaint to the Col. who gave him a severe reprimand and ordered the flour into camp forthwith, it accordingly came.

28. Traveled 14*m* and encamped close to a Missourians house.

29. Started early this morning and stopped for noon within a mile of the town of St. Joseph,¹⁶ marched through town with music in double file.¹⁷ The inhabitants very much aston-

tion, visions, the divine power of healing, and all the gifts and blessings exercised by the Saviour and his apostles" (Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia, VIII, 11). "Several parties about this time were taken sick, among whom was the author, and were healed by the anointing with oil and the laying on of hands, and went on their way rejoicing." (Daniel Tyler, "A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War," 132.) Tyler was born at Semproneus, New York, on November 23, 1816, arrived at Salt Lake in October, 1847, died at Beaver, Utah, on November 7, 1906.

¹⁴The present county seat of Holt county, Missouri. No mention is made of the town in the 1850 census.

¹⁵Nodaway, a small river, about 120 miles in length, that rises in Iowa and flows in a southerly direction through Missouri and mingles with the Mississippi a short distance above St. Joseph.

¹⁶The present county seat of Buchanan county, Missouri. The beginnings of the town date back to the erection of a trading post by Joseph Robidoux on the present site of St. Joseph. The town, although important as an emigrant station, achieved greatest renown when it was made the eastern terminus of the pony express. (Randall Parrish, "The Great Plains," I, 196-198. Grace Raymond Hebard and E. A. Brininstool, "The Bozeman Trail," I. 65.) In 1850 the population of St. Joseph was 5000.

¹⁷"The battalion were never drilled, and, though obedient, have little discipline; they exhibit great heedlessness and ignorance, and some obstinacy." (P. St. George Cooke, Journal of the March of the Mormon Battalion of Infantry Volunteers. Sen. Doc., 2, 31 Cong., Special Sess, p. 3. Hereafter cited as Cooke, Journal.)

ished at the Mormons appearance some of our most inveterate enemies living at this place.¹⁸

30. This day we passed through Bloomington¹⁹ the county seat of Andrew Co—and encamped on a small creek after traveling 15*m*. Almost 9 o'clock P.M. the wind commenced blowing very hard and continued to blow until the trees fell in all directions around the camp; the brethren were all aroused from sleep and out of their wigwams, which were built of bushes, looking for those in the camp to fall every minute, there was about 80 fires kindled for the cooking of supper, which had died away but enlivened up again by the wind blowing so hard, which together with the lightning which was very vivid, had a curious appearance and was alarming considering the crashing of timber, howling of the wind &c. but not one tree fell in the camp—which proved to us that *God* was with us, the cattle were in an old field where there was some deadened trees, and one ox was killed.

31. Passed through Weston;²⁰ a flourishing town on the Missouri river, marched through in good order with music, people astonished here also at the good order and regularity of the Mormon Volunteers. Encamped on a small branch 2 miles from Weston and 4 from Fort Leavenworth²¹ at 1 o'clock P.M. for the purpose of washing our clothes before entering the Fort as they were very dirty.

Aug. 1st. This morning we arrived at the ferry opposite

¹⁸ "The Battalion reached St. Joseph, where Brother William Hyde saw Brother Luke S. Johnson who informed him that the people of Missouri were perfectly astonished at the course which the 'Mormons' were taking. They [Missourians] had supposed when they heard of the requisition of the government that the 'Mormons' would only spurn it; but when they saw the Mormon Battalion march through their settlements with civility and good order they were perfectly non-plussed." (Journal History.)

¹⁹ Savannah is the present county seat. There is no town by this name either in the 1850 or in the 1920 census.

²⁰ A town in Platte county, Missouri. The population in 1850 was 3775.

²¹ A fort established by Colonel Leavenworth in pursuance of orders dated March 7, 1827, from the headquarters of the army. By reason of its important rôle in fur trade, Indian regulation, and western emigration, the post became one of the most famous in the history of the West. (Hiram Martin Chittenden, "The American Fur Trade of the Far West," II., 630-631.)

Fort Leavenworth at 8 o'clock and by 2 o'clock P.M. all the companies had crossed the river; we encamped on the west side of the fort, the Col. gave us our tents this evening one tent to 6 men, we have now traveled 180 miles without tents camping out and lying on the ground. There are 6 companies of Missouri Volunteers here.

2. Sabbath. Remained in our tents.

3. News came today of the Steamboat Radnor sinking, loaded with Ammunition and provisions for the army. Today we received our arms,²² camp equipage and such other things as were necessary and a plenty of provisions, one Co. of horse arrived today.

4. This morning one of the Platte City Co Volunteers struck another with a hatchet wounding him severely.

5. Nothing of importance occurred.

6. Today I received 42 dollars for my years clothing money.

7. Today I sent to my wife and mother 50. dollars, also a letter to the same, Elder P. P. Pratt supposed to be the bearer of the monies sent. The brethren generally sending all they could spare. I gave one dollar to Elder Little who was in Co with Elders Hyde and Taylor as he was bound for Washington City, and sent 4 dollars to the Council at the Bluffs.

²² " . . . U. S. flint-lock muskets, with a few cap lock yaegers [yagers] for sharpshooting and hunting purposes." (Tyler, 136.)

PRESIDENT BRIGHAM YOUNG TO THE MORMON BATTALION ¹

Camp of Israel, Cutler's Park.²
Omaha nation, Aug. 20, 1846.

Capt. JEFFERSON HUNT and the Captains
officers and soldiers of the Mormon battalion.

Beloved brethren:—Several letters were this day received by Joseph Matthews who has just returned from Fort Leavenworth. The Council of the Twelve and High Councils of Cutler's Park and Council Point were in joint session on his arrival, and we were cheered with his report of your excellent outfit, and the good feelings which appear to prevail at the Fort, and among the officers and soldiers of the Battalion.

Bro. Matthews expressed your feelings and wishes, concerning your families and that you desire your families to be brought forward with the camp. This is all right, and nothing shall be wanting on our part to accomplish this desirable object;

We consider the money you have received, as compensation for your clothing, a peculiar manifestation of the kind providence of our Heavenly Father at this particular time, which is just the time for the purchase of provisions and goods for the winter supply of the

¹ Journal History.

² Cutler's Park, Council Bluffs. "The camp was gathered together at a grove which was called Cutler's Park, after Alpheus Cutler." (Historical Record, August, 1889, 890.)

camp. After hearing your views concerning the remittance of future payments, from Bro. Matthews, and Bro. Dykes' letter of the 15th inst., we consider it wisdom for you to retain the funds which you may hereafter receive, until you can bring them yourselves, or deliver them to our Agent; for if circumstances permit, and it is wisdom we shall send one or two brethren to receive your remittances; whom you will know by their credentials; otherwise you will retain them till further instructions; and we would again urge the importance in all good faith, of the officers being as fathers to their soldiers and counseling them in righteousness in all things, that they remember their prayers continually, and that they be kind and courteous in all their deportment, showing all due deference and respect to their officers and all in authority over them, using no profane or vain language or doing anything that tends to debase them in the eyes of beholders; remembering the ordinances in cases of sickness, and keeping themselves pure and unspotted from surrounding elements and combinations, so that they may win the respect and confidence of the whole world; and that they, and especially the younger brethren, do not spend their income for things of no value, or that might as well be dispensed with, but lay it up and keep it safe against a day of need, and send to the poor of Israel when opportunity presents and in so doing they will be laying up treasures in heaven, and on earth in the days of their youth; we give counsel upon counsel because it is our duty, and because we love you, and want to exalt you to the highest glory, and not because we have no confidence in you, far from it. It will require all the

means the battalion will have to spare, with the united exertion of the camp, to carry out all your wishes, though by the wisdom of heaven we will make every dollar sent us count as good as two or three at ordinary traffic, and especially let every one send all they can by our agent at next payment, for it is very uncertain whether you will have an opportunity to make any more remittances before the close of the year or some distant period. A company of monied men, late from the East, is now forming in Camp to purchase all the materials necessary to put in immediate operation a flouring mill, when we get over the mountains; and nothing will be wanting on our part to make a good and pleasant retreat at the end of our journey.

Since writing you yesterday we have heard that about thirty wagons will winter at the Pawnee village, and Bishop Geo. Miller with about one hundred and sixty wagons at the Punca village, one hundred and twenty miles above.

Let the officers be diligent in enjoining the above counsel.

Col. Kane is convalescent. We regret to hear of the illness of Col. Allen; please present him our kind feelings and hopes of his health and prosperity.

Those brethren who remembered the counsel in the distribution of their mites, shall receive the blessing of the council; and we bless you all, feeling that you are doing well and trying to do better; and may our heavenly Father preserve you blameless unto the end, is the prayer of your brethren.

Done in behalf of the council.

BRIGHAM YOUNG, president,
WILLARD RICHARDS, clerk.

P.S. A neglect on the part of two companies of the battalion to make me a return of a copy of their muster roll etc. has caused much trouble to me and their friends. Shall this be removed? I wish it to be understood by every member of this battalion, that on account of the imperfectness and non-appearance of the muster rolls of the different companies of the battalion at my office, the brethren in the army are liable to lose or not receive letters which might arrive for them, from foreign offices, for I know only some of the names that are among you.

WILLARD RICHARDS, Postmaster.

8. Went to Weston to trade a little and returned on a flat boat.

9. Sabbath. Staid in the fort.

10. Two companies of Horse left today belonging to Col Price's regiment.³

11. More of the Missouri Volunteers left for Santa Fe.

12. Yesterday *Br.* John Spindle got bit on the hand by a rattle snake.

13. This morning orders came for the 1, 2, and 5th Companies to take up their line of march for Bents Fort,⁴ on the Arkansas River—traveled only 5 miles and camped.

³ Hon. Sterling Price and his regiment of Missouri Volunteers. (See Sen. Doc., 439, 490, 20 Cong., 1 sess., for more details on Colonel Price and his regiment.)

⁴ Established in 1826 by the four Bent brothers, famous French-Canadian trappers and hunters. Originally a rude wooden stockade, it was moved down the valley in 1828 to within twelve miles of the present town of Las Animas, where a more substantial structure was erected. The fort was blown up in 1852 by William Bent, the leader in the enterprise, because the Government would not give him the price for it that he asked. (Henry Inman. "The Old Santa Fe Trail," 389-391.) John Hughes wrote an interesting description: "The exterior walls of this fort, whose figure is that of an oblong square, are fifteen feet high and four feet thick. It is a hundred and eighty feet long, and one hundred and thirty-five feet wide, and is divided into various compartments, the whole built of adobes,

14. The three ⁵ companies resumed their march today, Co A taking the lead, I traveled ahead of my Co this afternoon not thinking they would camp so soon, and camp'd without blanket or supper.

15. This morning the *Cos* overtook me and we traveled 10m.

16. Sabbath. Today we had to leave 2 of our mess behind in consequence of their being so very sick, leaving our tent with them and men to take care of them, intending to send back for them. Crossed Caw ⁶ River today, a large ⁷ stream, and ferried over by the Delaware ⁸ Indians and encamped on the Delaware tract of land, being now in the Indian Territory West of the U. S.

17. Remained encamped today and a team sent back for the sick. Leonard M. Scott taken sick of a fever, my wife's brother.

18. Still tarried in camp 4 miles west of Caw river. Leonard baptized by Levi Hancock ⁹ into the church.

19. The last two days I have had my hands full, 4 in the mess being sick. I washed Leonard's and my own clothes

or sun-dried bricks. It has been converted into a government depôt." (Hughes, 59.)

⁵ There were five companies, A, B, C, D, E.

⁶ Caw or Kansas. A river about three hundred miles in length that traverses Kansas and enters the Missouri River at the western boundary of the State of Missouri.

⁷ At this point between three hundred and three hundred and fifty yards in width. (Tyler, 139; John T. Hughes, "Doniphan's Expedition," 32.)

⁸ Descendants of the well-known tribe that was dwelling along the banks of the Delaware River at the time of the white man's coming. Crowded westward, they moved successively to the headwaters of the Allegheny, to eastern Ohio, and to Indiana. In 1789 a group of them migrated to Missouri and then to Arkansas. By 1835 most of the tribe was living on a reservation in Kansas, which circumstance accounts for their being met by the Mormons. In 1867 the remnants of the tribe were removed to Indian Territory and incorporated with the Cherokee Nation. (Frederick Webb Hodge "Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico," I, 385-386.)

⁹ Levi W. Hancock, chaplain and one of the musicians of the M. B., was born April 7, 1803, in Old Springfield, Massachusetts. He arrived in Great Salt Lake Valley in October, 1847. He died at Washington, Utah, June 10, 1882.

today and at 2 o'clock struck tents and traveled 4m and encamped near a small creek ¹⁰ in the prairie. The two other companies overtook us this evening, after we had encamped a cloud appeared in the N.W. and the rain began to fall at a distance and about sun down the wind commenced blowing very hard accompanied with large drops of rain and continued to blow till our tents were all blown down and our cooking utensils scattered all over the Prairie, some wagons moved with the storm, and covers torn off, the rain and hail continued to descend in torrents, about dusk the storm abated and all seemed to rejoice at our preservation none being hurt. After some time spent in gathering up our things and pitching tents, we laid down for the night though very uncomfortable, our blankets being all wet.

I look upon this storm as a judgment from the Almighty on the Battalion for their imprudence.

20. Today at noon our Brethren were called together to hear preaching, Elders Tyler,¹¹ Pettigrew¹² and Hancock spoke, on the necessity of obedience to counsel, and concerning the improper conduct of some for the few days past. Br. Levi promised them the sick ¹³ should recover if they would put away those things which were displeasing to Our Heavenly Father. Cap. Hunt made some remarks and all seemed willing to obey the word of the Lord and the Counsel of His servants. After meeting the brethren met to pray for the restoration of the sick; and for the blessings of the Lord to rest on the Battalion, and for our families at the Bluffs.

21. The sick who were left at Fort Leavenworth arrived today, and Cos of Horsemen passed by. The settlers have

¹⁰ Stone Coal Creek. (Tyler, 139.)

¹¹ Daniel Tyler, Levi W. Hancock, and David Pettigrew.

¹² David Pettigrew, private in Company E, was born July 29, 1791, at Weathersfield, Vermont. Came to Salt Lake Valley in October, 1847. He was active in civil and ecclesiastical affairs and served in the Utah legislature.

¹³ Brigham Young, in a letter dated August 19, 1846, explained his attitude toward medicine: "If you are sick, live by faith, and let surgeon's medicine alone if you want to live, using only such herbs and mild food as are at your disposal. If you give heed to this counsel, you will prosper; but if not, we cannot be responsible for the consequences. A hint to the wise is sufficient." (Tyler, 146.)

made a few sales today Whiskey 6.00 per gal. and other things equally as dear. Not much purchased.

22. Left this place called by travelers Coal Creek,¹⁴ but which will hereafter be called by us Hurricane Point. We travelled through a rich bottom today, and a vast prairie on our right and left, good cool breezes, and the sick recovering very fast.

23. Sabbath. Travelled through Prairie today, saw but little timber, a stone wall seen some 5 feet thick, and other embankments¹⁵—travelled about 20 miles to day.

24. Today I saw some very good land and travelled only 14 miles, encamped on Beaver Creek, this country has much the appearance of a Mineral country, some good clay seen, yellow and black ochre, also some iron rust. I think there is lead in this part of the country. Crossed the Osage line to day.

25. Struck tents quite early and resumed our march over prairie and small creeks while resting at noon some Caw Indians¹⁶ came to our camp and followed us some distance in the afternoon. Met 8 wagons returning from Bents Fort. Also Br. McKenzie from Bents Fort, who said the Gen.¹⁷ was waiting for us to cross the Mountains with him. Travelled 14 m. Camped on Elm Creek.

26. Today while crossing a creek one of the Co C's wagons upset, 6 or 7 sick in the wagon and some women, but no one hurt but all very wet. News came this evening of the death of Col. Allen. He was much beloved by the Battalion and his loss severely felt by all.

¹⁴ Stone Coal Creek.

¹⁵ "Ruins of an ancient city were also plainly visible, showing that the country must have been inhabited sometime long ages past by a civilized people." (Tyler, 141.)

¹⁶ The Caw or Kansas Indians are a southwestern Siouxan tribe, probably, or the Dhegiha group, which played a comparatively unimportant rôle in the history of the country until the nineteenth century, during which they made several important treaties with the United States Government. After wandering about the vicinity of the Kansas and Missouri rivers, they settled down at Council Grove, Kansas, whence they were removed to what was then Indian Territory. (Hodge, I, 653-654.)

¹⁷ Probably referring to General Kearney.

DEATH OF COLONEL ALLEN ¹

FORT LEAVENWORTH, August 23, 1846.

PRESIDENT BRIGHAM YOUNG,

My dear Sir:—It becomes my painful duty to announce to you the death of Lt. Col. Allen; he died at 6 o'clock this morning, of congestive fever, as the doctors say. He was sick eight days. This, sir, is to us a very great loss in our present situation, as he was a good friend to us, as well as to our people.

The companies are now ten days in advance of us. Lieut. Pace is with me and eight others who were detailed to take the staff wagons along. It is impossible for me to express to you my feelings on this occasion; we are here alone and no one to counsel with. Whose hands we are to fall in, is yet to us unknown. Our men having left this post, makes it our right to make our own officers, but as to the policy of doing so, is to me doubtful, until we get to Gen. Kearney. Col. Allen never spoke to any person on the subject; he requested me yesterday morning to call on him in the afternoon alone, that he had some private business with me, but wished to take a little sleep first, as he had had a restless night; in the evening I called, but he was so much worse he could not make his business known. I sat up with him last night and during the evening; he re-

¹ Journal History.

quested me to lift him and called me by name, and that was the last word he spoke.

The colonel has many warm friends here and many more in the army.

It was my wish for Lieut. Pace or myself to return to the Bluffs this morning, but Lieut. Smith, a gentleman in the regular service, and Doctor Sanderson, the surgeon in the Mormon battalion, object to it and Mr. Smith seems to be inclined to assume some authority over us; if he should, it will only be temporary, as we shall act decidedly, and we hope wisely, considering our situation for the future.

We shall doubtless go through to California without having any difficulty to contend with from the Mexicans, and hope to see you all safe there with us early the next season.

SAMUEL GULLY.²

27. After traveling 5 miles we came to Council Grove³

² Samuel L. Gully, third lieutenant in Company E. Upon arrival at Fort Leavenworth August 6, 1846 he was appointed assistant quartermaster to the battalion and served in that position until the company arrived at Santa Fé, when he was succeeded in that position by an appointee of Colonel Phillip St. George Cooke, whereupon Lieutenant Gully resigned and returned to Winter Quarters. He died on the plains while en route from Winter Quarters to Salt Lake Valley, July 5, 1849.

³ Now the county seat of Morris county, Kansas. The following is a vivid description written by an observer in 1844: "This place . . . consists of a continuous strip of timber nearly half a mile in width, comprising the richest varieties of trees; such as oak, walnut, ash, elm, hickory, etc., and extending all along the valleys of a small stream known as 'Council Grove Creek,' the principal branch of the Neosho river. This stream is bordered by the most fertile bottoms and beautiful upland prairies, well adapted to cultivation: such indeed is the general character of the country from thence to Independence." (Josiah Gregg, "Commerce of the Prairies," I, 42-43.) Hughes recorded the following observations: ". . . a place remarkable in the history of the Santa Fé trade, and

the Place appointed for the Battalion to stop at till Col. Allen should arrive, camp at noon, and found several Cos of Horsemen at this place.

28. Quartermaster Shelton was arrested today for talking disrespectfully to the officers and I was detailed as guard over him. An aged lady by the name of Boscow⁴ died today, and her husband is very sick, they were intending to settle with the saints in California as were many others.

29.⁵ This morning Shelton had his trial and was acquitted. The Battalion was called out by Cap. Hunt under arms and marched to the funeral sermon of our Beloved Colonel. Preaching by Adj't G. F. Dykes,⁶ on the resurrection and some remarks by Cap. Hunt on the occasion. Almost 2 o'clock P.M. Lieu Smith of the Dragoons, Dr. Sanderson, and some others arrived from Fort Leavenworth, bringing some letters for the Battalion, and some council from the Presidency of the Church. Entreating us to let *Calomel* alone, and to use faith, and those means which we were in possession of, assuring us that there was no promise of life if we did use it. This Counsel came along at the time the Dr came with his *Calomel*. Br. Levi had a dream which was fully in accordance with this days history.

distinguished above all others as being the point of general rendezvous for traders, trappers, mountaineers, and others, of border life. Here, timbers for repairing wagons . . . are generally procured, this being the last grove where good timber can be obtained on the route." (Hughes, 40.)

⁴Jane Bosco.

⁵Cutler's Park, August 29, 1846. ". . . Pres. B. Young visited Bishop Newel K. Whitney and heard Dr. W. Richards read a letter from the council to Captain Jefferson Hunt and . . . informing the members of the Battalion that John D. Lee and Howard Egan were sent to receive the funds the volunteers might wish to send to their families, that their mission was kept a secret in camp, and wisdom dictated that the officers should also keep it a secret, as this course might prevent robbery and murder. The captain and his officers were requested to use their influence to have the soldiers send their payment to their friends in camp." (Journal History, 313.)

⁶George P. Dykes, first lieutenant in Company D, was born December 24, 1814, in St. Clair county, Illinois, came to Utah in 1847, was one of the first missionaries of the church to labor in Scandinavia, and died at Zenos, Arizona, February 25, 1888.

SUCCESSOR TO COL. ALLEN

LETTER OF COUNCIL TO ELDERS HYDE, PRATT, AND
TAYLOR ¹

JANUARY 7, 1847.

. . . Lieut. Pace came on express from Fort Leavenworth to inform us of the demise of Lieut. Col. Allen, of the Battalion, being then on their march towards Fort Bent. We immediately wrote council for Captain Hunt to take the command of the Battalion according to his station and continue to carry out the orders that had been issued to Col. Allen giving General Kearney the earliest information by express. This communication we dispatched by brother John D. Lee on the 30th August. . . .

Instead of the officers sending to us for council they wrote to the Pres. of the U. S. to appoint a commander, the Pres. informed them that was not his privilege, that the command devolved on the rank, but in as much as they made the request, he dispatched Capt. Thompson from Jefferson Barracks to take command, if the Battalion wished it. Brother Lee met Capt. Thompson learned his mission was pleased with the man and wished him to go forward, thinking that the Battalion would be benefited by the exchange, and

¹ Journal History.

that the choice would be with the Battalion, not with the officers alone. . . .²

MR. JESSE C. LITTLE TO PRESIDENT BRIGHAM YOUNG ³

WASHINGTON Oct. 6, 1846.

. . . I have received some letters from the Mormon Battalion and wrote to the President respecting the matter of the death of Col. James Allen recommending Capt. Hunt or Capt. Backenstos, but that the Mormon Battalion will choose.

JESSE C. LITTLE.

WHY LIEUTENANT ANDREW J. SMITH
TOOK COMMAND OF THE BATTALION ⁴

SANTA FE, Oct. 17, 1846.

TO PRESIDENT BRIGHAM YOUNG AND HIS COUNCIL.

We received your letter on the 28th of Aug. and was much satisfied with the intelligence we received that

² On this day [Oct. 24 (?), 1846] John D. Lee and company reached the point of rocks, where they discovered many Indian tracks. Two and a half miles further they discovered four horsemen and pack mules. Both parties called a halt and prepared for defence, each party supposing the other to be Indians. With the aid of glasses they discovered their mistake. On approaching Lee learned that it was Colonel Thompson and three of his guard. The Colonel had left the remainder of his company and wagons in the rear to hasten on to Santa Fe to take command of the Mormon Battalion. He informed them that the President of the United States had appointed him to lead the battalion to California and see them settled in peace. The Colonel asked Lee if he thought the Mormon Battalion would receive him. Lee said, if he would carry out Col. James Allen's pledges to them, they doubtless would. ("History of Brigham Young," 424.)

³ Journal History.

⁴ Ibid.

the Church were in good health generally, but felt uneasiness on account of the news of Col. Kane's sickness. We felt thankful for the counsel concerning the preservation of our health and life. Our health at present is good, although we have had a tiresome march and much sickness, with one death, Brother Phelps, which we believe was caused by calomel and other poison; although we have had much sickness our surgeon gains much credit from those possessed with the same spirit as himself, but we feel thankful to our God that he has preserved our lives. The sick have not taken medicine only as they were obliged to by the doctor under the rules and regulations of the army of the United States which we were obliged to obey.

When we heard of Lieut. Col. Allen's death a query arose in the minds of some as to whose right it was to take command of the Mormon Battalion. I called the officers together to counsel upon the matter and decided what was best to do, as we heard that Lieut. Smith was coming from Fort Leavenworth to tender his services to lead the battalion to Santa Fe; now the question was, whether we should accept of his services or not, or whether I should go ahead as I had done; which was partially discussed but finally deferred till the next evening and Capt. Hunter and Adj. Dykes were instructed to examine the law on the subject; for there appeared to be some division on the matter. Circumstances forbade us meeting the next evening, but the day following we met in Council Grove when Captain Hunter produced the law on the subject which showed that it was my right to lead the battalion, and that no other person could lawfully do so, unless the

parties were agreed and then by appointment of the war department; it was therefore agreed that I should lead the battalion.

The next day Lieut. Smith came up and I was made acquainted with him; he soon told me he desired to lead the Mormon Battalion to Santa Fe, and referred to the benefits we should receive from having a U. S. officer at our head. I told him it might or it might not be so, but for myself I was willing to risk marching the Mormon Battalion myself to Gen. Kearney. I was, however, but one and could only act as such; if he wished, I told him, he could see all the officers together and lay the matter before them and if a majority of them wished that he should lead us to Gen. Kearney I would consent. Accordingly, I notified all the officers and they were present in the evening, when Lieut. Smith laid his propositions [:]if our battalion were gone ahead, that the provision master was not acquainted with any of our officers and if we should overtake him and make out a requisition he could not officially know us, inasmuch as we had neither commissions nor certificates that we were officers. Major Walker, the paymaster general, addressed us; he candidly advised us to let Smith lead us, referring to the many difficulties we should have to meet if we undertook to go by ourselves. Our pilot informed us that it was the intention of Col. Price, who we all knew was our inveterate enemy, to attach us to his regiment if we did not accept of Smith.

There was nothing said by our officers one way or the other in the presence of Smith and the other officers, save by Adjutant G. O. Dykes, who stated our

inability to make out correct pay rolls and other documents now wanting without some instruction and gave his views in favor of Smith. I questioned Smith very closely on his intentions, if he calculated to carry out the designs ⁵ of Lieut. Col. Allen, stating that I would, under no consideration, resign my command to him, if he did not intend to carry out these designs; he replied that such was his intention. When they were all through, I requested that Lieut. Smith, the paymaster, pilot and doctor should withdraw. I then told the officers that it remained with them, after hearing what they had, to decide the question. The matter was talked over a little, when Capt. Higgins moved that Lieut. Smith should lead us to Santa Fe, which was seconded by Capt. Davis and carried unanimously. Smith was apprised of this and took command the next morning.

Our commander, I have no doubt, would have acted well with us, had it not been for a bad influence which the Doctor and pilot use with him. We had an opportunity of seeing two or three times the benefit derived from having him our commander. We had not provisions to last us more than half way to Santa Fe and should consequently have had to go on one fourth or one half rations, but he made a requisition on Col. Price and made him give us about twelve days' rations. This Price would not have done for us under any consideration had we been alone. It is true we have had a forced and wearisome march; there was for the better

⁵ "Capt. Hunt mentioned to him that we had some 12 or 15 families along, and also certain promises which had been made by Col. Allen in reference to those families, that they should be protected and have the privilege of journeying with us to California." (Journal History. William Hyde's Journal.)

part of the time, however, occasion for this, as we would soon be out of provisions and were now past the time Gen. Kearney had expected us at Santa Fe. We have, however, with much anxiety got thus far, and shall continue our journey under Lieut. Col. Cooke. There are other matters which cannot all be included in this letter. I shall therefore write you another.

In the meantime, I am your obedient servant,

JEFFERSON HUNT.

J. D. HUNTER.

30. Sabbath. This morning father Boscow⁶ died and was buried close by the camp by the side of sister Boscow, his wife. they lived together on earth and in death were not separated. He was not a soldier, the brethren carried large stones, and built a square & solid heaps of stones over the grave, and a large one at their head and feet. This was all we could do to keep the wolves from digging them up.

Orders came to march and to prepare for inspection and *Genrl* muster but afterwards countermanded. At this Grove we found an abundance of grapes which were very good.

31. Struck tents at 7, and marched 7½ under the command of Lieu. Smith, who received the command from our officers to conduct us to Bents Fort. The reason why he takes the command from Cap Hunt I do not know, the matter is not understood by the Battalion but time will show leaving it in the hands of those who knows concerning our mission. Travelled 15*m.* as fast as we could in company with some Horsemen from Missouri, and encamped at Diamond spring⁷

⁶ John Bosco.

⁷ Diamond Spring is in the southwestern part of the present Morris county. "The most enchanting spots ever depicted by the pen of the eastern romancer, possess not more charms for the youthful imagination, than do the groves and the fine, gushing, transparent Diamond springs, for the thirsty, wayworn traveler on the plains. These crystal fountains derive their name from the limpidness of their waters." (Hughes, 41.) ". . . a crystal fountain discharging itself into a small brook. . ." (Gregg, I, 52.) The

the best water we have had on our journey. These Springs and creeks have been named by the fur traders who have travelled this road to the Rocky Mountains. Lieu Smith here mustered us into service, inspected our guns and did such other things as the Regulations required.

Sept. 1. March'd 15*m.* and camped at the Lost spring, so called on account of its being in such a lonesome place and so far from the timber. Here we adopted the Arab method of cooking; by digging a hole in the ground and burning weeds to make our coffee quite new to us.

2. Left the Lost Spring early and travelled 15*m.*, encamped on Cotton wood Creek.⁸ We are now in the Comanches⁹ country who are very hostile towards the whites.

3. Travelled 26*m.* over a large prairie no timber in sight and camped without wood or water, wanted some water very much.

4. Struck tents early and travelled 18*m.* to a small creek said to be a fork of Arkansas. We are now in or near to a Buffalo country and expect to see thousands in a few days. Heard of the Missouri volunteer drilling some but I have not seen any.

5. Travelled over a very barren piece of land, grass not more than 4 inches long and some places none at all. Encamp'd

spring is now to be found about four miles north of the station of Diamond Springs on the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé Railroad. It still flows a bountiful supply of water. (M. M. Quaife (ed.), "The Commerce of the Prairies," by Josiah Gregg, 40.)

⁸Cottonwood Creek rises in the western part of Marion county, Kansas, and flows south and east until it mingles with the Neosho River, "... a creek still smaller than that of Council Grove. . . ." (Gregg, I, 52.)

⁹A southern tribe of Shoshonean stock, never very numerous, but widely known because of a two-century war with the Spaniards of Mexico and a relentless struggle of forty years' duration with the Texans, whose encroachments upon their hunting grounds engendered a bitter hatred. To the Americans generally they were friendly. They ranged over a wide district, like other plains Indians, being as familiar with the Bolson de Mapimi of Chihuahua as they were with the Platte. They also roamed the country about the head waters of the Arkansas, Red, Trinity, and Brazos rivers in Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas. After their last outbreak (1874-1875) they were settled on a reservation in southwestern Oklahoma. (Hodge, I, 327-328.)

on Cow Creek.¹⁰ Here we overtook our Provision wagons, 30 in number and also a horse.

6. Sabbath. Travelled over a very sandy prairie with little or no grass. Here I saw the first wild Buffalo. I passed by several dead ones today. They had been killed by travellers who sometimes took but a few lbs. of the meat with them. This brought to my mind the word of the Lord, and the woe pronounced on those of the Saints who sheddeth blood, wasteth flesh and hath no need &c. We camp'd in the prairie without water but found a little by digging. Some buffalo brought into camp this evening I ate some for supper and it was really the best meat I ever ate. Br. Dimick Huntington¹¹ had a cow killed by lightning this evening. He belonged to Co. D. and had his family along.

7. This morning the Battalion travelled 12 miles before breakfast. I was quite unwell and hardly able to travel. Met a man and his family, 6 in number, returning to Missouri, sick of the Rocky Mountains. Gave us an account of a snow storm in the month of July last, could not fully believe all his account of the country. Buffaloes seen all the time. The brethren now have great sport chasing and hunting the Buffalo. Camp'd at 10 A.M. on a creek called Walnut creek¹² and rested our teams . . . the remainder of the day. Two buffaloes came running close to the camp and the Pilots and Sutlers soon shot one, a very large one which afforded us quite a taste.

8. Quite unwell this morning. Got permission after going 1 mile to ride in the wagon, rode all day, Buffaloes crossing our trail all day and seen in droves of Hundreds. Some killed by the brethren. Commenced raining at 2 o'clock P.M. and continued to rain till morning. Camp's on one of the Pawnee

¹⁰ Cow Creek has its beginning in Rice county and flows into the Arkansas below the city of Hutchinson, Kansas.

¹¹ Dimick Huntington was born May 26, 1808, at Watertown, New York. After his arrival in Utah he became an Indian interpreter and took a prominent part in making peace negotiations between the early settlers of Utah and the Indians. He died in Salt Lake City February 1, 1879.

¹² Walnut Creek rises north of Garden City, Kansas, and flows almost directly east into the Arkansas just below the town of Great Bend. Fort Zarat was later established at the mouth of Walnut Creek. (Quaife (ed.), Josiah Gregg, 47.)

forks,¹³ a small creek. The Pawnees¹⁴ are said to be very fierce and warlike. Travelled 28*m*.

9. In consequence of the rain last night the travelling is now very bad, and the creek full. Moved 3*m*. up the creek to better feed and to rest for the day. Here I purchased a coat of the Sutlers for 15 dollars worth 8.

10. This morning while we were in camp an express came from Santa Fe on their way to Fort Leavenworth, who gave us news of the surrender of the place. The Gen marching in without the firing of a gun and bringing us advice from the Gen to take the Semiron¹⁵ trail leaving Bents fort to our left. We travelled 20 miles today. I rode about 1-3 of the distance. We camp'd in a large prairie with water, but no wood. Here I first used Buffalo chips (dung) to cook our food.

11. This morning I heard of a Missouri Volunteers being surrounded by a Commanche Indian. Some of the Missourians had hunted up a buffalo and while they were skinning it 3 of the Commanche Indians fired at them with arrows from the bushes. They were on the Indian ground, the U. S. having no claim to any beyond the line 5 miles each side of the road. Our commander altered his course and struck across the prairie to the Arkansas river. The river here is about 120 rods wide and on an average not more than 3 feet deep, very little water in the river. Travelled 12 miles and camped on the river.

12. Travelled 20 miles and encamped on the river. I have felt much better today, and have carried my musket all day. This is the first time for 9 days I can thank God that I have

¹³ Now within the town of Larned, the county seat of Pawnee county, Kansas. One of the worst places for Indians along the old Santa Fé Trail. (Inman, 410.)

¹⁴ A confederacy belonging to the Caddoan family, the name of which was derived from their horn-shaped scalp-lock, made to stand erect by the application of paint and grease. The Pawnees finally established themselves in the Platte Valley, Nebraska. Although often under severe provocation, they never made war on the United States Government, and Pawnee scouts did useful service for the army during Indian uprisings. In 1876 the tribes were removed to Oklahoma. (Hodge, II, 214-216.)

¹⁵ Cimarron, a river that rises in the Raton Mountains of north-eastern New Mexico, flows for about 650 miles in a general easterly direction through Colorado, Kansas, and Oklahoma, and finally mingles with the Arkansas.

been preserved from the hands of the Dr and have not been compelled to take *Calomel*. Lieu Smith and the Dr. seem to wish to force every one to take medicine, though many of those who do go and receive it throw it away. We seem to have fallen into the hands of a tyrant. There are a great many sick in the Battalion at present. Many fish were taken today by the brethren, spearing them with their swords and bayonets.

THE BATTALION AND DR. SANDERSON ¹

In the course of the day Lieut. Smith discovered some two or three sick in a wagon who had not reported themselves to the Surgeon, and he pulled them out very abruptly. Dr. Sanderson stood by hallowing "Damn them, pull them out." The Lieut. asked Albert Dunham, one of the sick, if he had taken any medicine, who answered in the affirmative. The Lieut. enquired who ordered it, and on learning that it had been administered without the surgeon's orders, he swore by that in case any man in the battalion did the like again, he would cut his damned throat; and then turned to Dunham and said that if he took medicine in the like manner again, he would tie a rope to his neck and drag him one day behind a wagon. In the evening the sergeants were called for at the Lieutenant's marquee and received orders to have the sick all report themselves next morning to the surgeon, or they would be left on the prairie.

The surgeon had been heard to say, while in conversation with the Lieut. and while pouring his wicked anathemas upon our heads that he would send as many to hell as he could, thus virtually threatening the lives of all under his charge.

Such language as this we had not been accustomed to, and began to conclude that our surgeon was a correct sample of the people he had just left in Missouri,

¹ Journal History, 228, William Hyde's Journal.

many of whom were murderers and whoremongers, who love and make a lie, and who had stained their hands with the blood of the Saints; and as to our Lieutenant in command his course began to look very much unlike that of Col. James Allen.

13. Sabbath. Travelled 20m. up the river roads; very sandy and dry; nothing but one eternal plain, no hills in sight. Hard traveling all day.

14. Marched 15m. up the river camp'd on the River. I march'd as a rear guard, much talk of our being on $\frac{1}{2}$ rations, we have thus far had full rations which is a plenty.

15. Travelled 15m. and crossed the bed of the Arkansas, not so much water running here as would turn the smallest water power. Col Price's Regiment of Missouri Volunteers encamp'd here.² We are now on the South side of the Arkansas and in the Territory of Texas. Some of our train staid on the other side of the river including those families that were removing to California. Our officers giving their consent to cross the Arkansas at this place and proceed to Santa Fe instead of going to Bents Fort.³ 10 men detailed to go with the families up the river to Bents Fort and Cap Higgins of D. Co. and Quarter Master Sergeant Shelton, also, their families being along. Some objections ⁴ to this separation.

16. Remained in camp after packing up, orders came to pitch our tents again. The families started this morning for Purblues ⁵ with their guard. Went a fishing today and caught

²"We found them a profane, wicked and vulgar set of men." (Tyler, 157.)

³Colonel Allen had intended to go by way of Bent's Fort, where he had ordered provisions sent, but Smith, although the water was scarce, preferred the shorter route. (Bigler MS.)

⁴"... as President Young had counseled the officers not to allow the Battalion to be divided on any account." (Tyler, 157.)

⁵Pueblo. This place was founded between 1840 and 1842 as the headquarters for trappers in southeastern Colorado. "It was a square fort of adobe, with circular bastions at the corners, no part of the walls being more than eight feet high. Around the inside of the plaza, or corral, were half a dozen small rooms inhabited by as many Indian traders and mountain-men." (Inman, 252.)

a great many more than we could use. *Br. Avla Phelps* died this evening. I believe that *Calomel* killed ⁶ him. He was a faithful brother and had not been sick but a little while. I help'd to dig his grave by torch light. The country is so level here and sandy that we could not dig over 4 feet without water. After I had returned from digging *Br. Phelps'* grave and had laid him down in my tent, some of the brethren called me to look at a star ⁷ in the east that continued to move both north and south and up and down; It was directly *in* the course that we had travelled.

17. Quite early this morning we buried *Br Phelps* of Co. E. with but little ceremonies. Just as we were about to leave the Arkansas, *Brs. Lee, Egan and Lieu Pace* arrived with letters from the 12 and counsel for the Battalion also many letters for the brethren from their friends. They came to receive money from the Soldiers to take to their families.⁸ *Adj. G. Dykes* would not listen to *Br. Lee*, the messenger of the 12, and said there was no time to counsel now. *Br. Lee* objected to our going any other course but that the 12 and *Col. Allen* had mark'd out. He opposed the separating of the families from the Battalion and felt hurt at the same. The star last night that was seen moving was an omen of the arrival of the messengers in as much as the officers were consenting to almost anything that *Lieu Smith* our Tyrant would propose. But we still call upon the Lord to protect us. We travelled 25 miles this day across one of the most dreary deserts that ever man saw, suffering much from the intense heat of the sun and for want of water. The grass not more than 2 inches high and as curly as the wool on a negro's head and literally dried up with the heat of the sun. The teams also suffered much from the sand. I drank some water today that the Buffaloes had wallowed in and could not be compared to

⁶ Tyler speaks of him as 'a martyr to his country and religion,' and adds: "Many boldly expressed the opinion that it was a case of premediated murder." (Bigler MS.)

⁷ Tyler also speaks of this phenomenon. (Tyler, 158.)

⁸ "Capt. Hunt had demanded our pay as far as it was due, but we could not get it because he had no small change so they concluded to go on to Santa Fe. Though Lee was much in favor of going back this afternoon." (Journal History. William Coray's Journal.)

anything else but Buffalo urine, as a great portion of it was of the same, yet we were glad to get this. Saw many buffaloes today and many wounded by the Battalion. Some killed. Camp'd without water in this desert and not a blade of grass for our mules.

18. Started soon after daylight and commenced our toils on this sandy desert; not a drop of water to be seen this morning, nothing to look at but a large dreary desert and here and there a herd of Buffaloes or antelopes. I suffered much more than yesterday for want of water; found some rain water about 2 o'clock, mixed with Buffalo dung and urine; drank some of it which seemed to be a blessing.⁹ About night we came to a creek called Sand Creek and encamp'd. Some little grass; 26m. today.

19. Started at 4 o'clock this morning in order to get the start of some Missouri Volunteers, who were encamp'd here as our Pilot had told us of a fine spring ¹⁰ 10m. from this place. Arrived at the spring by sun rise just as some of the Missouri Volunteers were leaving the ground, fairly outwitting those who were behind, taking possession of the spring and camping ground, laid by here today, and I was detailed as a guard. Wrote a letter to my wife and Mother to send by Brs. Lee & Egan, who expect to start back tomorrow. Took a man prisoner while on guard this evening.

20. Struck tents this morning quite early and expected a long march Did not travel but 10 miles and camped by the Semirone ¹¹ river if it may be called a river. No water, nothing but a bed of sand. Good feed at this place, dug wells for water, which was quite black with Buffaloes, antelopes and deer in abundance. We still have to use Buffalo chips to cook with, having been without wood since the morning of the 10 inst.

21. Travelled 18 miles in the Semirone and encamp'd on the same. No water only by digging. The river runs under the sand, very warm all day and the men suffered much for

⁹ But Bigler adds, ". . . gracious how sick it made some of them." (Bigler MS.)

¹⁰ Cimarron Springs. (Tyler, 159.)

¹¹ Cimarron.

water, but little grass in the Bottoms and none on the hills.

22. Still continued to travel on the river, very sandy and warm, men giving out by the way side, mules also. Leaving some mules to perish by the way. Came to a large spring about noon, and passed some rocky bluffs at 2 o'clock. Travelled 15 miles today.

23. Detailed this morning for a guard. Traveled as rear guard, kept in the rear very much in consequence of the mules and Oxen tiring down. Left 1 mule and 4 oxen through the day. Roads very sandy, very stormy through the night and rained some, making it very unpleasant to stand guard. Wolves very noisy and bold. Travelled 15m.

24. This morning when we awoke we found every thing wet even the Buffalo chips that were taken into the tent last night were so wet that it was with much difficulty for us to cook our breakfast. Started rather late this morning and travelled only 10 miles, passed by bones of upwards of 100 mules all within a few rods travel. Our Pilot Mr. Thompson told us that he sold the mules to a company of fur traders and they were catch'd in a snow storm in September last, the mules froze to death in a few minutes, in consequence of their being so weak, as all teams are that travel this Santa Fe route. Camp'd to night on a part of the Semirone, plenty of water, some 2 or 3 feet deep but soon lost in the sand below. We came in sight of the Rabbits Ears,¹² two very large mountains, known by that name, and which serves as a mark for travellers. Here was a large company of traders, going south of Santa Fe into the Spanish settlements. Buffalo chips very scarce.

25. Travelled 20 miles; passed through some very broken land, hilly and rocky, met some teams on their return to Fort Leavenworth from Santa Fe. Came in sight of timber¹³ once

¹² Rabbits Ears, a landmark for travelers before the establishment of the Santa Fé Trail. It is in eastern Union county, New Mexico, just north of Clayton, the county seat. They are almost the first elevation seen after the crossing of the Cimarron plain. (R. G. Thwaites (ed.), "Gregg's Commerce of the Prairies," in "Early Western Travels," XIX, 234 and note.)

¹³ The first seen in nine days. (Tyler, 161.)

again but not enough to cook with, only a tree here and there. Camp'd at a good spring ¹⁴ 200 miles from Santa Fe.

26. March'd 18 miles, and encamp'd near a rock creek, got water out of the holes in the rocks, had to go a mile for it; some cedar here. Met some teams returning from Santa Fe.—No Buffaloes seen yesterday or today but plenty of antelope, deer and Elk.¹⁵

27. Sabbath. Travelled 12 miles over sand hills and encamped by a muddy pond; had to use buffalo chips again and but very few to be had Some of the brethren going 2 miles for wood.

28. Travelled 12 miles; poor water and but little wood. Saw bears and turkeys; plenty of antelopes seen and killed.

29. Today we passed the Rabbits Ears round about 12 o'clock which have been seen for some time. Teams failing very fast on account of the scarcity of water and no feed. Camp'd early to get some wagon tire.

30. Travelled hard all day and at sun 1 hour high we stopped and cook'd supper and started at sun down and travelled 5 miles further very much fatigued.

October 1. Started by daylight and travelled 3 miles and encamped for 4 hours then marched in the afternoon 14m.

2. Detailed for a guard, travelled 27m. Very hard travelling; march'd as rear guard and camp'd on Red River.

¹⁴ Gold Spring. (*Ibid.*)

¹⁵ "March, march, march, is the daily task. Day break brings the reveille, sick or well must go either to roll call or to the doctor; next boys get your breakfast and strike your tents with all possible speed; then left, left, all day over the sand, through dust, over hills and across valleys, sometimes twelve, fifteen and eighteen miles. Halt, stack arms, pitch tents, run over all creation gathering buffalo chips or a little brush and getting water, draw rations, cook supper, eat, then roll call, and by the time the evening chores are finished it is dark. Attend to evening duties, go to bed and sleep on the rough, cold ground with only one blanket and a thin tent to shelter from the cold. Say, sympathetic reader, is not the condition of the Mormon soldier hard? But dwell not my mind on these things; gloom, perhaps repentance at having started the journey, might overcome thee. Cheer up, drooping Saint, and look forward to the green fields, pleasant gardens and neat farm houses that will soon adorn the valleys of California and think thy hand had a part in the accomplishment of this." (*Journal History*, 273. *Journal of James A. Scott.*)

3. Started this morning and travelled 6 miles and pitch'd our tents on small creek, where Lieu Smith and Dr. Sanders caused most of our leading officers to consent to a division of the battalion, leaving the sick and the lame behind and taking the stoutest of the company on a forced march¹⁶ to Santa Fe. Lieu Pace and Lieu Lytle¹⁷ opposing the separation; leaving the poorest teams behind and the ammunition wagons, also some of the Sutlers teams and cannon. Started at sun 1 hour high and travelled 18 miles to the wagon mound, arrived here at 11 o'clock, some Mexicans and Indians here selling whiskey. Some of Price's regiment camp'd here. We have outtravelled the Missourians all the way.

4. Travelled 24 miles to creek of good water, here we found some Mexicans selling cakes and bread, within 2 miles of a house.

5. Today we travelled 30 miles, passed two houses and camp'd at a Spanish town called Begus,¹⁸ houses built of unburnt brick and had the appearance of an unburnt brick-kiln at a distance. The valley in camp'd was very rich, land water, salt.

6. This morning we passed through the Town of Begus

¹⁶ "Marched 7 miles and Lt. Smith came to a halt ordered the teams unhitched, but not unharnessed, invited the commanding officers to his tent told them that he thought it best to take 50 men of each company 2 Cpts, 2 Lt. 2 sergts and 2 corp. and make a forced march to Santa Fe that they might claim the right to fit out for California. To this proposition they agreed unanimously. Accordingly we made ready and marched 22 miles this evening and left Lt. Omen [George W. Oman] in command of the detachment. We camped on a creek, near a high rock." (Journal History, William Coray's Journal.)

¹⁷ Andrew Lytle.

¹⁸ Probably Las Bagas [Las Vegas]. Here Kearney administered the oath of allegiance to the alcalde and the principal men of the town. (Hughes, 72.) "The inhabitants were dark, swarthy, and indolent. They cultivated small patches in the vallies and irrigated. They raised wheat, squaw corn, onions, red pepper, squashes, etc. Their fields were without fences, yet they had large herds of cattle, sheep, goats, mules and some horses, which were herded day and night. Some penned their stock at night in adobe enclosures. They lived mostly on cakes, milk and cheese. They dressed like the Americans with a loose blanket instead of a coat. The females wore short petticoats with a loose shawl thrown around the head and shoulders." (Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 377.)

in good order with music, and after traveling 12*m* came to another town¹⁹ of the same size. Travelled 5 miles further and encamp'd at a large farm.

7. Passed through the Town of St. M'Gill²⁰ large town all Spaniards, or Mexicans, I was on the rear guard today, a large Roman Cathedral here, houses principally of unburnt brick—my feet were very sore all day. Passed through some mountains, snow seen today. We travel sometimes North, south and west in order to pass the Mountains which seem to be setting in very fast.

8. Marched up the valley of Bagos²¹ until we came to the abbey of Bagos which was built 250 years ago. The walls are in a ruined state, still some of the rooms are in good repair. There was quite a town at that time but its history I could not learn.²²—18*m*.

9. Today we expect to be in Santa Fe and now at 2 o'clock we have passed through the Grand Pass,²³ where I think that 600 men could withstand 6000. The Mexicans had 6000²⁴ at this place and Gen. Kearney but 1800 and yet the Mexicans

¹⁹ Probably Tecolote. (Hughes, 72.)

²⁰ San Miguel. ". . . consists of irregular clusters of mud-wall huts, and is situated in the fertile valley of Rio Pecos, a silvery little river which ripples from the snowy mountains of Santa Fe. . . ." (Gregg, I, 109.) It is famous for being the place near which the Texan force under General McLeod was captured in 1841 by the Mexicans under General Salezar and Governor Armijo. (Hughes, 72.)

²¹ Pecos.

²² "Some of the building was about thirty feet in height and contained many rooms or apartments, the carving in which exhibited much taste and far more ingenuity than the present race possess. The pilot (who had been in the Spanish trade for twenty-five years) said, that this building was discovered about two hundred and fifty years ago, which was about the time Santa Fe was settled. The structure exhibited marks of great antigity." [antiquity.] (Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 382.)

²³ Or the Pass of Galisteo, "nothing more than a deep fissure, or chasm, through the ridge of the mountains which divides the waters of the Pecos from those of the Rio del Norte." (Hughes, 77.)

²⁴ Hughes gives the number of Mexicans as 7000 and those under Kearney as less than 2000. (Hughes, 76.) Emory gives a much lower figure for the Mexicans: 2000. (W. H. Emory, "Notes of a Military Reconnoissance from Fort Leavenworth, in Missouri, to San Diego, in California, including Part of the Arkansas, Del Norte, and Gila Rivers." Ex. Doc., 41, 30 Cong. 1 sess., p. 29.)

fled from the pass and Kearney with his army of 1800 march'd through into Santa Fé, whose population was some 6,000, not a gun fired. Surely the Lord is on our side and is opening the way before us so that we may march into the Upper California without the shedding of Blood, all praise be ascribed to God and His Son. Arrived in good order, town full of soldiers, a salute fired on our entering. Col. Cook²⁵ of Co. K of the Dragoons has been sent back by the Gen. to take command of the Mormon Battalion. Encamped in a wheat field back of the Cathedral. For the last 134 miles we have been rather short of rations and march'd some days at a very quick rate.

²⁵ Philip St. George Cooke (1809-1895) was graduated from West Point in 1827 and served continuously in the United States army for forty-six years thereafter. Before assuming command of the Mormon Battalion, he had participated in the Black Hawk War and in various engagements with the Indians on the plains. During 1856 and 1857 he commanded in Kansas, and in the Civil War, espousing the cause of the Union, he rose to the rank of brigadier-general. (William Elsey Connelley, "Doniphan's Expedition," 264. Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography, I, 720.)

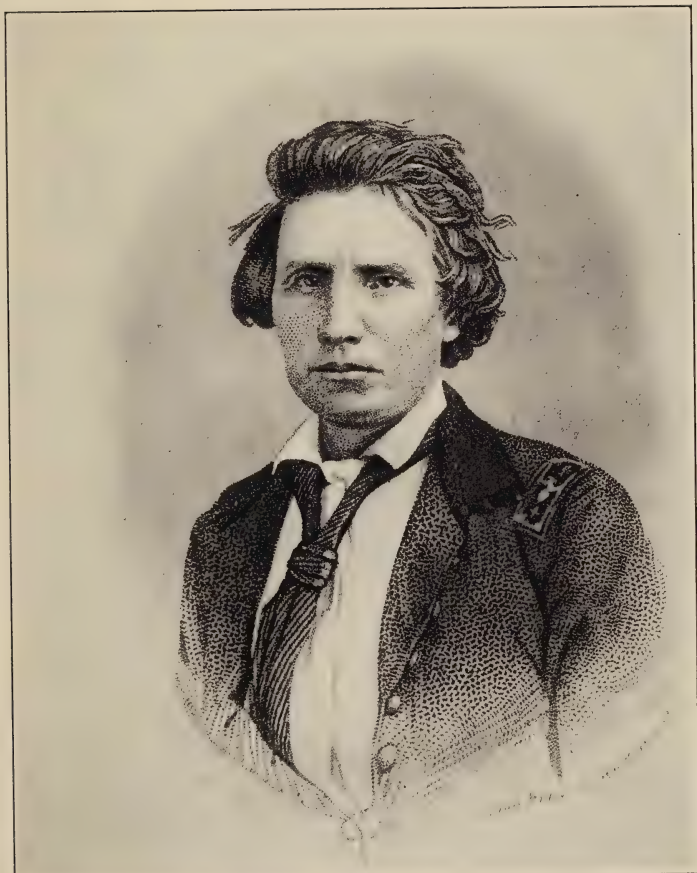
ARRIVAL OF THE BATTALION AT SANTA FÉ ¹

The first division of the Mormon Battalion arrived at Santa Fé on the evening of October 9th, 1846. On their approach, General Doniphan, the commander of the post, ordered a salute of one hundred guns to be fired from the roofs of houses in honor of the Mormon Battalion. The second division arrived on the 12th of October. [October 13.]

When Colonel Sterling Price, with his cavalry command, which left Fort Leavenworth two or three days ahead of us, arrived at Santa Fé, he was received without any public demonstration, and when he learned of the salute which had been fired in honor of the "Mormons" he was greatly chagrined and enraged.

This same General Doniphan, who had been an eminent lawyer of Clay county, Missouri, was present, when Joseph Smith and others were tried by a court martial of the mob at Far West, in 1838. When the prisoners were sentenced upon that occasion to be shot in presence of their families, General Doniphan denounced the decision as "cold blooded murder," and swore that neither he nor the regiment which he commanded should witness the execution. He was not only an officer in the militia, but he was the only lawyer of prominence who was present on that occasion, and his influence was such that by his firm spirited action the

¹ Tyler, 164-165.



From "Doniphan's Expedition," 1848

ALEXANDER W. DONIPHAN

decision of the court-martial was changed and the prisoners were turned over to the custody of the civil authorities of the State.

When the Mormon Battalion arrived at Santa Fé, General Doniphan was pleased to find a number of old acquaintances and friends among the soldiers, whom he knew to be honorable, upright and loyal men, and it was probably the memory of the wrongs which they had suffered from the Missouri mobocrats which prevented him from extending any courtesies to Colonel Price and his disgraceful command on their arrival.

SANTA FÉ IN 1846 ¹

Santa Fé, the capital of New Mexico, occupies the site of an ancient Pueblo, and contains an estimated population of six thousand. It is situated on Santa Fé creek, a beautiful, clear stream, issuing out of the mountains towards the east, having its source in a lake. From this creek various canals part, above the town, and lead through the fields, gardens, and orchards, for the purpose of irrigation. Families use the water of the canals. Their houses, generally flat-roofed, and one story high, are built of sun-dried bricks, called *adobes*, in the Spanish language. In the city there are six Catholic churches, but no public schools, the business of education being intrusted to ecclesiastics. The streets are crooked and narrow. The whole presents very much the appearance of an extensive brick-yard. The public square is about ninety yards, from north to south, and one hundred from east to west. The governor's residence, or palace, is situated on the north side of the Plaza. The architecture is of the rudest order.

For many years, Santa Fé has been the port of entry for American goods, and the great emporium where the merchants of central Mexico annually meet the American caravans, to purchase their stocks. It is a city of considerable trade.

¹ Hughes, 91.

CAPTAIN COOKE DETAILED TO COMMAND THE BATTALION ¹

OCTOBER 11, 1846.

About 5 p.m. the express of Gen. Kearney reached the Mormon Battalion at Santa Fé. Captain Hunt, Capt. Hunter and Capt. Brown, Lieut. Clarke, Howard, Howard Egan and John D. Lee visited Captain Cooke, who received them with much courtesy and conversed freely, and read Gen. Kearney's letter which substantially was as follows:

Having learned of the death of Lieut. Col. Allen, and that the Mormon Battalion is on their way to Santa Fe, there to await his orders—reposing special trust and confidence in the courage, good conduct and ability of the Mormon Battalion, he appointed Capt. Cooke to take command in place of Lieut. Col. Allen on their arrival at Santa Fe, their outfit to consist of sixty days provisions, and to be unencumbered with baggage, as a part of the route will be difficult for wagons. The Mormon Battalion to follow on his trail, to be conducted by Mr. Fitz Patrick (a pilot that he sent) to the Pacific, where, if necessary, he would have a vessel ready to convey the Mormon Battalion to Monterey, as their destination probably would be the Sacramento valley, which was probably 1,000 miles distant. The American flag had been hoisted and waving over California for three months.

10. Today 4 Companies of Col Price's Regiment of Horsemen came in, and the remaining Company will be here tomorrow.

¹ Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 386.

row. Visited the Town, saw nothing but Gambling² going on here, goods tolerable reasonable considering the distance of land carriage some 800 miles.

11. Sabbath. Went into the City and walked through the Principal squares, no houses higher than one story excepting the Cathedral, one dwelling house and the old chapel.

12. Today I went to the Mexicans Roman Catholic meeting, saw mass performed, the church full of gewgaws.

13. To day the balance of the Mormon Battalion came in.³

14. To day Col. Cook appointed Lieu Smith our late commander, quarter master assistant commissary of subsistence, and Lieu Stoneman⁴ Quartermaster, thereby causing Br. Samuel Gully who had hitherto been Quartermaster of the Battalion, appointed by Col. Allen, and had served faithfully to take his place in Co 3 as 3rd Lieu—proposals made for the women, the sick, the men who had families, and all those whom the Dr thought not able to perform the remaining part of the journey to be sent to Pueblo,⁵ 180 miles from Sante Fe, there to winter. It is said to be difficult to go the rest of the way with wagons. No money to be received here but checks.

15. The officers drew pay to day. I visited the fort.

16. Preparations made for leaving.

²"Several soldiers went on a spree and were put under guard, and some in the calaboose; some of the Missouri volunteers determined to release their comrades and broke down the guard house in the struggle. One of the sentinels fired and killed two of the volunteers."

³The battalion now numbered 486 men, of whom about 60 were invalids or unfit for service. (Cooke, Journal, 2.)

⁴George Stoneman served in the Civil War and became governor of California (1883-1887). (Appleton's Cyclopædia, V, 706.)

⁵A large number of Mormon families were collecting here preparatory to migrating to California in the spring of 1847. (Hughes, 245.)

"Gen. Doniphan and Col. Cooke proffered to send all the sick women and children belonging to the Mormon Battalion to Pueblo (where the Mississippi brethren are) [converts from Mississippi, who left that State under the guidance of Elder John Brown and were wintering at Pueblo] to winter, with an escort, and with the privilege in the spring of intersecting the main body of the church and going with them at the expense of the government, which was considered a fair and liberal proposal as neither the sick nor women and children could stand the fatigue and exposures of the journey." (Journal History.)

17. Nothing transpired worth notice, still preparing for a start.

18. Today I wrote a long letter to my wife and mother and sent 8.00 [dollars] to my wife and 1.00 to the twelve at the bluffs.—Br. Lee & Egan taking monies to the families at the bluffs.—The sick and the women start to day for Pueblo.

OFFICERS OF THE BATTALION TO PRESIDENT BRIGHAM YOUNG ¹

SANTA FE, Oct. 18, 1846.

PRES. B. BRIGHAM YOUNG AND COUNCIL:

Dear Brethren:—Agreeable to promise in former letter I now proceed to give you a short account of our prospects and views on our march to California. Gen. Kearney has appointed Capt. Cooke of the U. S. A. our commander. He has provided us with a complete fitout, and has removed Commissary Gulley and Sergeant Major Glines; we are sorry for this but we cannot help it. Lieut. Smith is appointed Commissary and James Ferguson of Company A is appointed Sergeant Major, and we believe that Brothers Gully and Glines were both removed through the influence of the adjutant [Dykes], whose conduct has rendered him odious to the whole Mormon Battalion.

We are happy to inform you that we have many strong friends in the army and in this place; among the number Col. A. W. Doniphan, who has rendered us much assistance and is as friendly as he ever was in Missouri, for which he has our grateful remembrance. We are going to march this day for California; we shall travel down the Rio Grande, by the copper mines, thence to the nearest point on the Pacific, thence

¹ Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 482.

to the bay of San Francisco, where we expect to join Gen. Kearney's army.

Brethren. we are sorry that we cannot send you any more money at this time owing to the volunteers getting but one month and a half's pay, but if you should see fit in your wisdom and judgment to send to meet the army in California we shall be able to send you much more as there will be two months pay due the first of November.

We remain, etc.

JEFFERSON HUNT, Capt. Company A.

DANIEL C. DAVIS " " E.

JESSE D. HUNTER, Capt. company B.

WM. W. WILLIS, 2nd Lieut., Company A.

19. Left Santa Fe. Travelled as rear guard; went 5 miles down the river and encamp'd,² good grass and water.

20. Resumed our march at 9 o'clock and travelled 12 miles; passed through some Spanish settlements.

21. March'd 24 miles a hard days march and encamp'd at 5 o'clock. The Col has started with only 60 days rations or in other words if we call a days rations what the law recognizes as such we have only 54 days rations although the Pilot had frequently told Col Cook that it was too little, we are now on $\frac{3}{4}$ rations and if reduced so soon what will we be obliged to do ere we reach San Diego; for the Col can not obtain it in the settlements. Roads very hilly and sandy and quite warm for the time of year.

22. Travelled 15 miles down the river,³ road bed, had to push at the wagons nearly all day, passed through 2 towns⁴ to day and camp'd close to water.

² Auga Fria. (Cooke, Journal, 3.)

³ The Galisteo. (*Ibid*, 4.)

⁴ San Barnallio [Bernalillo] was one of them. (Cook, Journal, 4.) It was a small place, containing a population of about 500, but one of the best built towns in the territory. (Emory, 39. Hughes, 109-110.)

23. March'd 10 miles, passed through a town, found apples, grapes, bread &c. for sale.

Country very interesting, really good land in many places but timber very scarce.

24. March'd 12 miles, passed another small town,⁵ cannot learn the exact names of these towns; heard rumors of Kearney being attacked by the Mexicans, and of the necessity of our hastening to that place, the copper mines.

25. Sabbath. Crossed the river and camp'd near to a large town (Isleta); plenty of fine grapes here.⁶

26. Travelled 15 miles, roads tolerable, detailed for the Col's orderly today.

27. Marched 10 miles; had a storm of rain in the valley of the Del Norte and snow upon the mountains.

28. Marched 18 miles to a town.⁷

29. Travelled 10 miles; roads bad.

30. Travelled 10 miles and encamp'd near to a town⁸ and gristmill, crossing the mill race to a grove.

31. Still continued our course South, descending the Rio Grande. Travelled 15m. and encamped on the river. Passed through the largest town⁹ since we left Santa Fè.

Novr. 1. Sunday. Orders No. 3 were read this morning, accepting of the resignation of G. P. Dykes as adjutant. 1st

⁵ Probably Albuquerque. (Cooke, Journal, 5.) "This town, numbering about 800 inhabitants, takes its name from the apricot groves in its vicinity, this fruit being called by the Mexicans, albuquerque." (Hughes, III.)

⁶ "This was Sunday, but we continued our march, stopping for nothing. Marched 15 miles camped on the Rio Del Norte. The Spaniards brought to us apples, grapes, corn and wine for sale though at an exorbitant price. They seemed much delighted at the sight of our women and would crowd before us in such multitudes that I could hardly press my way through . . . and give them apples." (Journal History. William Coray's Journal.)

⁷ Probably Sabinal. (Cooke, Journal, 8.) "The inhabitants, male and female, nearly naked. The river bottoms wide. Geese, brants, ducks, cranes, swans and pelicans almost without number along the Rio del Norte. (Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 427.)

⁸ Probably Pulviders [Polvadera]. (Cooke, Journal, 8.)

⁹ Probably Socorro. (*Ibid.*, 9.) "The town of Secoro, containing about one hundred inhabitants, is prettily situated in the valley of the river which is here almost circular, and about three or five miles in diameter. The church, as usual, forms the salient points which meets the eye at a great distance. (Emory, 51.)

Lieu. of Co. B. and Samuel B. Merrill, Lieu. of Co. B. appointed in his stead. Very glad of this change, for Lieu. Dykes had been working against the interest of the Battalion all the way. Had quite a battle with the sand hills today, almost blufft of ¹⁰ several times but finally came off victorious and camped in a cotton wood grove; 15 miles today.

2. Travelled 10 miles and camp'd in an Aspen grove on the Rio Del Norte.¹¹

3. Travelled 10 m.

4. Travelled 15 miles and encamp'd near to an old Nephite wall.¹² Br. Wolsey ¹³ overtook us this evening on his return from Pueblo. He was one of those who went from the Arkansas river with the families on detached service. He came from Santa Fé alone. Cap. Higgins of D. Co. receiving the privilege at Santa Fé from Col. Doniphan to return and winter with his family. Br. Wolsey gave an account of Br. Sharpe who shot himself accidentally. A messenger also arrived from the Regulars on the Rio Del Norte, informing the Col that a body of Mexicans were on their way to rob the traders.

5. I was detailed for a guard this morning and the Battalion remained in camp all day on the river.

6. Travelled 12 miles and encamp'd where Gen. Kearney

¹⁰ Bluffed off.

¹¹ It is also called the Rio Grande and the Rio Bravo, and is "so shallow, for the most part of the year, that Indian canoes can scarcely float in it." (Gregg, I, 138, 141.)

¹² According to Mormon belief, a descendant of Nephi [Nephi, son of Lehi], the alleged author of the first two books of the Book of Mormon, from the plates of which a prophet called Mormon is said to have made in part the book which Joseph Smith translated. (W. A. Linn, "The Story of the Mormons," 31, 45, 91, 94.) Cooke described this wall as "a large rock of square proportions, above 30 feet high, inaccessible in any part. It is a sandy conglomerate and precisely the color of the adobes; has a striking resemblance to the ruins of a church or other large building." (Cooke, Journal, 13.)

¹³ Thomas Woolsey, private in Company E, born November 3, 1805, the son of Joseph Woolsey and Abigail Shiffer. He marched with the battalion as far as Santa Fé, when he was sent with the sick detachment to Pueblo. He finally returned to Winter Quarters and was one of the original pioneers of Utah, coming to Salt Lake Valley with President Brigham Young. He died January 5, 1897, at Kanosh, Utah.

left his wagons¹⁴ and took pack mules for the rest of the journey, leaving the Rio Del Norte, or River of the North, and taking to the Mountains.

7. March'd 10 miles down the River over small mountains, had to push much at the wagons, and pull with ropes, taking one wagon at a time and placing as many men around it as we could get; mules giving out very fast.¹⁵

8. Sabbath. Travelled 8 miles and encamp'd about noon, roads bad.

9. March'd 10 miles, roads¹⁶ still very bad, some rumors of another division taking place in the Battalion, by sending the sick back to Pueblo.

10. This morning 50¹⁷ of the Battalion were sent to winter at Santa Fe, or if possible to go to Pueblo, including the sick. This does in reality make solemn times for us, so many divisions taking place. May the God of Heaven protect us all. A new organization of messes took place today, putting I into a mess, ripping open the ends of the tent to make them answer, sending back some tents and other things to lighten

¹⁴ "The guides declared it impossible to follow the Gila route proper, or that taken by Kearney, who had left his wagons behind; and a circuit to the south through Sonora was determined on." (Bancroft, V, 484.) ". . . General Kearney, having learned while he was at Santa Fe that the Mexicans in California had surrendered to Commodore Stockton, resolved to push on through as hastily as possible and assume control of the country as governor and commander-in-chief of California, in accordance with his commission from the President of the United States, received previous to starting upon the campaign. He accordingly disbanded most of his soldiers at Santa Fe, and, with one hundred picked men, set out for the coast some time previous to our arrival at that post. Previous to starting, however, he gave orders for Colonel Cooke to follow on with the Mormon Battalion, and open a wagon road to the coast." (Tyler, 187-188.)

¹⁵ "This day nearly all the mules gave out and the men were nearly worn out pushing on half rations. Every man was willing to take 10 days rations on his back if the Col. would leave the wagons. Though he said if the roads did not get better within several days he would leave them, for he knew if they did not gain ground faster they would perish on the plains of Sonoro or Chihuahua." (Journal History. William Coray's Journal.)

¹⁶ "The guides say that most of the mules would not go to California driven loose." (Cooke, Journal, 14.)

¹⁷ Cooke says fifty-five. (Cooke, Journal, 14.) Three more were left on November 11, making a total of fifty-eight. (*Ibid.*, 15.)

the loads, throwing away our tent poles and using our muskets in the stead of poles.¹⁸ We march'd 15 miles today, roads still very bad, having to labor almost incessantly, helping the wagons through the sand. Still on $\frac{1}{2}$ rations. This is now the 10th day we have been on $\frac{1}{2}$ rations. Some rumors of our going to take the town of Sonora¹⁹ in the District of Sonora, in order to get a fresh supply of provisions, as it is thought impossible to cross the Mountains to the Pacific sea with as little as we now have.

11. Travelled 15 miles and camp'd on the Rio del Norte.

12. Detailed this morning as guard and travelled 15 miles in the advance guard, very tired today.

13. After traveling 3 miles down the river we turned west leaving the Rio del Norte, which river we had followed since the 19th of October, and travelled 10 miles west over a rough road. Encamp'd at 4 P.M. wood scarce, but water plenty. Drew water out of a natural cistern, or large reservoir²⁰ 45 or 50 feet deep, surrounded by immense piles of rocks, quite a curiosity. This water has not been known of before. The Pilots having never seen or heard of it.

14. Travelled 15 miles and encamp'd for the night. Found both timber and water plenty though unexpected. Turned from our course, found a nearer route. Our rations now have become so short both beef as well as other things that the Col. has ordered an old white ox to be killed that has been drove in a team something like 1200 miles, and has given out by the way. Some men are to be sent back tomorrow to drive him to the camp.

15. Laid by encamp'd in a valley waiting for the old ox to

¹⁸ "This was done simply by setting the breeches of the guns on the ground, one in front and another in the rear of the tent, with bayonets off; in the muzzle of each a peg large enough to fill it was inserted, the upper end of which entered the ridge pole, the same as the iron peg in our former poles. The backs of the tents were opened and a gore inserted, which gave them a rather low pyramidal shape, and made them more roomy. . . . The h[e]ight of our tents was reduced about six inches." (Tyler, 203.)

¹⁹ Probably the small town in the west central part of the present Mexican state of Sonora.

²⁰ Cooke estimates the dimensions as follows: Diameter, 30 feet; depth 24 feet, capacity, 55,000 gallons. (Cooke, Journal, 16.)

come up. Last night it snowed on the mountains,²¹ and is now raining in the valley. Snow to be seen all around, very cold. About 3 o'clock P.M. we received our share of the white ox. It is really the poorest beef that can be imagined and not only is there a lack of fat, but it is covered with sores caused by the blows received from day to day in order to get the poor thing along through the deep sands. Some complain a little at this kind of meat, but if we do not eat mule meat before we receive a plenty I should be glad.

16. Travelled 15 miles over a rich plain and encamp'd near to a large mountain, water ²² plenty but no wood, cooked with weeds.

17. Struck tents quite early and march'd through a chain of Mountains, the pass very narrow, distance 3 miles and encamp'd for the rest of the day as there now is a large plain west of us and the Pilots have not found another camping place west of this. Water a long ways off. I eat guts today for the first time though many have eat them before.—One of our Pilots shot 2 wild goats²³ here. Close to our camp is some traces or proof of the Nephites once living here. Large entrances into the rocks and several pestles and mortars found made of rock, also some pieces of ancient crockery²⁴ ware, showing that a people has once lived here who knew how to make such things, whereas the Indians who now inhabit these parts do not understand such things. We found a great many hieroglyphics engraven in the rocks, which resembled those found in Pike Co. Illinois. I take this for good circumstantial evidence of the Divine authenticity of the Book of Mormon.

18. Marched 18 miles in a beautiful plain, no timber to be seen all day except a little stuff in the mountains; camp'd

²¹ Probably the Organos and El Paso mountains. (*Ibid.*, 17.)

²² "This has found its way to some of the maps as Cooke's Spring." (P. St. George Cooke, "The Conquest of New Mexico and California," 126.)

²³ "... domestic goats, with cropped ears; they were very wild—stolen I suppose and then lost, by the Indians." (Cooke, Journal, 18.)

²⁴ Many evidences of previous Indian habitation were found on this part of the route. (Tyler, 203, 204. Cooke, Journal, 17, 19.)

on a clear running stream of water. Ash, Cottonwood and Willow found here.²⁵ Very much worn out today. The brethren are daily growing weak.

19. Today we travelled 20 miles in a west direction. I was acting as the Col's orderly today.

20. Laid by all day. Very pleasant. The coppermine road²⁶ passing up this valley. The Col partly concluding²⁷ to take this road and travel south to Sonora. The passes west of this not known and our Provisions very low, may not be able to get through at all. The American backbone²⁸ showing very plain from this place, the largest chain of Mountains I have seen. The Colonel ordered the Pilots to raise a smoke on a small mountain to call the Indians in order to hold a conversation with them if possible, knowing that there were plenty of them in the Mountains but are afraid of so large a body. Some few were seen the day before by the Pilots (they call the Indians by raising a smoke) Soon after the smoke was raised some Mexicans were seen coming towards the camp from the Mountains who had been west trading with the Indians. From them

²⁵ This place was known as the Mimbres. (Tyler, 205.)

²⁶ This road leads to Yanos. (*Ibid.*) "Father David Pettigrew journalized that on the 20th, hearing that Dr. Sanderson and other officers were very anxious to follow the copper mine road and go to Mexico and believing that their reason was that they might procure whiskey, tobacco and women, and seeing their determination and influence with the Colonel, he felt distressed in mind and had some evil forebodings. In the evening, accompanied by Brother Levi W. Hancock, he visited every tent and requested every mess to pray to God that the Mormon Battalion might not be led through Mexico but directly to California. He dreamed last night that he saw a person riding on horseback in the air coming from the north above their trail, and that this personage rode over and past their camp, when he passed a short distance, he turned his body upon his horse, and placing a trumpet to his mouth sounded the advance, and resuming his seat in the saddle, went directly westward." (Doc. His., 484.)

²⁷ Cooke writes, "I have determined to follow the Yanos road until I can turn off—probably two days on this side—as the best road or route to the same point of the Gila, which I should strike in any route—all my guides agree in its being so." (Cooke, Journal, 20.)

²⁸ Here the battalion was at a point "twenty-five miles below the Jornada mountain, where they struck off westerly over the southern spurs of the Sierra de los Mimbres." (Hughes, 245.)

they obtained some information concerning water, camping places, &c. west of this.

21. Struck tents quite early and started towards the Settlements of Sonora; travelled about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, when Col. said he started to go to San Diego, Upper California and he meant to go the near way and then ordered the Command to turn west²⁹ leaving the well beaten road for the trackless desert. Travelled 8 miles towards the American back-bone. The Brethren truly rejoicing³⁰ this evening to turn west again, trusting in the Lord to guide our Pilots day by day. Found both wood and water.

22. Sunday. Travelled 18 miles and encamp'd without water in a large plain, no timber, cook'd our beef with weeds, and went to sleep very tired.

23. Struck tents this morning before sunrise and expecting to find water in 6 m. distance from this place but found it as much as 12, and to our sorrow found but little water here; there might have been enough for 10 men, but not enough for the Battalion. The brethren here were very much disappointed, having camp'd without water last night, and having the promise from the Pilots of water being here. The Col now ordered the Bugle to sound the *advance* and the front guard started on again without a drink, not knowing how far it was to the next water, leaving the men still trying to get some little to assuage their thirst, some sucking water through quills, as it seep'd from the cracks in the rocks and dipping it up mud and

²⁹ Cooke decided at this point to attempt to reach the water that had been found by the guide ten miles on the way to San Bernardino. (Cooke, Journal, 20.)

"On the morning of the 21st the command resumed its journey marching in a southern direction for about two miles, when it was found that the road began to bear south-east, instead of south-west, as stated by the guides. The Colonel looked in the direction of the road, then to the southwest, then west, saying, 'I don't want to get under General Wool, and lose my trip to California.' He arose in his saddle and ordered a halt. He then said with firmness: 'This is not my course. I was ordered to California; and,' he added with an oath, 'I will go there or die in the attempt.' Then, turning to the bugler, he said, 'Blow the right.'" (Tyler, 207.)

³⁰ Tyler attributes this apparent change in the colonel's plans to "three hundred fervent prayers," which, the night before, "ascended to the throne of grace for that one favor." (Tyler, 206.)

gravel also. I made out by staying till the rear guard had gone by to get a little muddy water, which others begg'd from me before I had gone one mile. Passed through a chain of mountains and entered on a large plain and travelled till dark and no signs of camp fires ahead. I laid down almost determined to stay here till morning with 3 more of my brethren, and about an hour after we had lain down some of the Battalion passing told us they could see a light ahead; this cheered us up a little and we once more rolled up our blankets and proceeded towards the light which seemed to be not more than 3 or 4 miles distant. After travelling awhile we met one of my Co returning leading a mule with a keg of water relieving all those who he found by the way, for this drink of water we thank those Officers who thought of us. Arrived in camp very late and camp'd close to a dry lake. Laid down without supper, too tired to cook.

24. I arose this morning at Reveille and found ourselves by the side of a large dry lake, but some good water close by, and as soon as we could procure some brush from the Mountains and our rations from the Seargent, we cook'd breakfast. The Colonel concluded to lay by today as some of the teams had not yet arrived and the men were coming in all the morning. There was some Spaniards here returning from the west, they had been trading with the Apache Indians. From them the Col. procured 10³¹ mules and a Pilot for 4 days.

25. Passed through a chain of Mountains this morning, with some difficulty. The French Pilot³² killed a large grizzly bear in the Mountains, a very fat one. Travelled 20 miles and camp'd by a cottonwood creek,³³ good water.

26. This morning I was detailed for a guard. Plenty of oak, willow, &c. to night for fire wood and good water.

27. March'd for 15 miles and camp'd where there was plenty of oak, Cottonwood, willow, also good water.

28. This morning I left the camp by light of day in com-

³¹ Cooke says twenty-one. (Cooke, Journal, 23-24.)

³² Charboneaux. (*Ibid.*, 24.)

³³ Los Animas [Las Animas]. (*Ibid.*, 25.)

pany with Br. David Smith³⁴ on purpose to kill some deer or antelope but we did not take the right course for much game, and after travelling over a very rocky and mountainous³⁵ country till 3 o'clock we concluded we would strike for camp, travelled to the top of the highest mountain, and saw the camp 3 miles distant. As soon as we arrived in camp we found that the battalion had moved only 6 miles, being obliged to camp as they had got to the top of the American backbone, and could find no way of descending to the valleys west, obliged to back on to a plain to encamp and the Pilots set to work exploring the Mountains for a pass. Mr. Weaver, our Pilot, that was sent to us from California by the Gen. came in this evening, bringing a Chief³⁶ of the Alpacha³⁷ tribe of Indians, very difficult to keep him all night in the camp in consequence of the treatment they had received from some Mexicans who had traded with them on the other side of the Backbone. The Pilot told us the Alpachas were waiting 18 miles west of the camp to trade with us.

29. Rained this morning till 8 o'clock A.M., very busy packing the mules with our provisions and such things as we had in our wagons, and at 10 o'clock quite a number of mules

³⁴ Lavid Smith, private in Company E, accompanied the battalion to California and died at San Luis Rey, California, in March, 1847.

³⁵ Sugar Loaf Mountains. (Tyler, 210.)

³⁶ "... I am told the chief would probably not have come but he was drunk when he set out, and that he had shown signs of a strong inclination to return." (Cooke, Journal, 27.) Manuelita was his name. (*Ibid.*, 28.)

³⁷ Apaches, a number of tribes comprising the most southerly group of the Athapaskan family. The Spanish explorers found them in New Mexico, whence probably after the middle of the sixteenth century they spread over into Arizona. Noted for their ferocity. They waged almost incessant war with the Spanish colonizers, the Mexicans, and the neighboring Indians until after the middle of the nineteenth century. Some of their raids brought them as far south as Jalisco, Mexico. The United States Government experienced great difficulty in finally establishing them under the various agencies. Geronimo, perhaps the most famous of their leaders, together with his band, surrendered on September 4, 1886, and ended the last formidable resistance of these tribes. In physique they are rather above the medium height, are good talkers, are not easily deceived, and are honest in protecting property left in their care, although formerly they lived almost entirely from the fruits of their marauding expeditions. (Hodge, I, 63-66.)

were sent over the Backbone, 9 miles into a small valley from whence we could start again with wagons. I was detailed to go with the mules and returned at dark to the camp, very tired. The path that we travelled today was in reality a rugged one and such as I never wish to travel again and tomorrow we must let the empty wagons down with ropes and any way which may be thought best.³⁸

30. Pack'd up the remainder of the provisions and all our Mess concerns, on mules and started with the empty wagons, and the pack mules, over the same pass. I drove pack mules again today. The roads (if I may say roads) were very bad, I having travelled it twice have become convinced that it is the most difficult pass that ever was made with wagons. The wagons all got through safe, no accident ³⁹ happening to any one or even to the animals. We camp'd in a valley about 10 rods wide with plenty of good water, and a sufficiency of fire wood such as Cottonwood, Hackberry, Oak Poplar and some shrubbery. The wagons were let down by ropes part of the way. I have not felt very well for some days past, though obliged to do duty all the time. We have been eating worn out Oxen for some time, working the Oxen as long as they could be made to go and then killing them for the command. The men are literally worn out and eating much meat as we do now, I believe makes men sluggish and feel more like worn out beings through diseased cattle.

Dec. 1. This day even at this time of the year the Oak trees are quite green, and the acorns are about half ripe. And vegetation is quite green. We are now going down hill all the time, and the water runs to the west. The Col. expects now to be in 30 [3?] days where we can procure 10 days rations, which will be very acceptable. Travelled 6 miles further through the pass, and camp'd again. I was detailed for the Col's orderly to-day.

2. Struck tents once more and travelled to the valley west,

³⁸ "I think no other man but Cook would even attempted to cross such a place but he seemed to have the spirit and energy of a Bony-part." (Bigler MS.)

³⁹ Cooke states that two wagons were damaged, one so badly that it was abandoned. (Cooke, Journal, 29.)

encamped at the ruins of an old town now deserted, formerly inhabited by Spaniards, called it Bernado.⁴⁰ This is a pleasant valley, good water grass, and a sufficiency of fuel found here. The brethren shot at some wild bulls to day and several turned out hunting as soon as we arrived here. One of our pilots who had come here ahead of us had killed a wild bull and was drying it with whom I traded for a little beef which was really sweet. Wild cattle seem to be plenty here. Here we found the Alpacha Indians who were very friendly and had mules, ponies and a kind of root baked which the Spaniards called Nas Kurl, very sweet. The Indians willing by trading with us for such little notions as we had to spare, but money they would not have. Private John Allen left the Battalion 5 days ago for the purpose of hunting and was lost among the mountains. He came in camp this evening about dusk, he had had nothing to eat while lost, except a little of Cap Hunt's old white horse, which he found striking our trail, he had knawed some creatures hoofs, found also in the mountains, he was very much worn out had been taken prisoner by the Indians, and his gun and part of his accoutrement taken from him, also his knife.

3. Today the Col concluded to lay by and trade with the Indians for mules &c. and the hunters set out to kill wild cattle, a great quantity of beef brought into camp during the day. Three of our mess went out after dark along with several more of Co. E procuring first from the guard, unknown to the Col., 3 mules to find a bull which had been shot by one of the Co. Did not return till near day but came loaded with beef.

4. This morning till 12 o'clock the time was spent in building scaffolds to dry our meat and drying the same. The land in this valley is generally poor, though some very good on the bottoms. Many of the cattle had the Spaniards brand on their hip. These Alpacha Indians had been so troublesome in times past that the Spaniards had to abandon the town and vineyards of St. Bernardo and cross the Corderilla ⁴¹ Moun-

⁴⁰ San Bernardino, situated on the Huaqui River, was once rich in herds, but the inhabitants were forced to leave as a result of the hostility of the Apaches. (Hughes, 246. Cooke, Journal, 27.)

⁴¹ Cordillera.

tains leaving their large stocks of cattle in the Valley, which have become wild, thus making a plenty of food for the Alpacha's. Travelled 9 m. this afternoon and encamp'd in a very narrow rocky pass, good water and wood to cook with; many employed all night by turns to dry our beef.

5. Travelled 12 m. to day and camp'd at a spring. Locust brush to cook with; crossed a small chain of mountains.

6. Rained last night in camp and snowed on the Mountains, crossed into a valley and travelled between two peculiar high Mountains very cold rain this evening. Camp'd at a small ash grove, a good spring of water,⁴² much beef brought in tonight. 15 m. today.

7. Clear and cool this morning. Men detailed to go with pack mules and gather up the beef killed yesterday. Laid by to rest the teams.

8. This morning Sister Brown⁴³ came to our tent and informed us of the death of Br. Elisha Smith, he did not belong to the Battalion but came along with Cap Davis to drive his team and act as waiter. They being old acquaintances. He had been unwell for several days. His wife left the Battalion at Santa Fe for Pueblo. Some few dug his grave and buried him while the rest prepared for a start. 8 o'clock found us once more on our way to California, course west, land rocky, hilly and very little grass. Camp'd without water and very little brush to cook with. 18 m. today.

9. I awoke this morning after a very restless night quite sick, unable to carry my gun &c. Permission given me by Lieut Lytle to put my gun and knapsack in the wagon; eat no breakfast and travelled all day in much pain 18 miles.—Crossed San Pedro River⁴⁴ a pleasant stream and camp'd on its banks. Wood scarce principally Hackberry. 27 m. today.

10. Struck tents once more and travelled down the river land tolerable good, feed good, and fish in abundance (sal-

⁴² Called Ash Creek by the battalion. (Bigler MS.)

⁴³ "... five wives of officers were reluctantly allowed to accompany the march, but furnished their own transportation." (Cooke, Conquest, 91-92.)

⁴⁴ A river that flows in a general northwesterly direction through southeastern Arizona for about one hundred and forty miles until it reaches the Gila.

mon trout). Large herds of wild cattle and plenty of Antelopes, some Bear and not so much snow seen on the Mountains today. Very sick. Detailed for a guard, did not go on duty, neither to the Doctor, through the kindness of my Lieuts. Pace & Lytle stood my tour at night. Travelled 15 m. and camp'd on the River. Black Walnut Timber here.

11. Struck tents at 8 and continued our course down the San Pedro River—Sanford Porter and I went fishing following the stream instead of the wagon trail, had poor luck fishing. 3 P.M. we came into the trail and found plenty of beef, made a fire and broiled some fat ribs, the brethren had quite a battle with the bulls today, killing 9 at one time and the bulls killing 2 mules while in harness, several hurt. The river San Pedro is a very rapid stream. Mill privileges in abundance. Plenty of bear signs under the Black Walnut trees; some deer. Our Lieut. Quartermaster Stoneman of 1st. Dragoons shot himself in the hand by his 15 shooter going off accidentally. Came 15 m. Camp'd on the River.



From the painting by George M. Ottinger

THE BATTALION REACHING A STREAM ON ITS MARCH ACROSS THE ARIZONA DESERT

FIGHT WITH THE BULLS ¹

DECEMBER 11, 1846.

The land on each side of the Pedro river bottom is a dense thicket of bramble bush, mostly muskeet [mesquite], with which millions of acres are covered. Those in the Mormon Battalion who had yaugers [Jaeger?] were permitted to go a hunting this morning. Shortly after we started, two wounded bulls came jumping into our marching column. One of them knocked down and run over Sergeant Albert Smith, bruising him severely; as soon as they passed the column, they received a volley which brought them to the ground. The Sergeant was put into a wagon and the command marched on; soon descending to the river bottom we halted to water our teams, where another couple of bulls raging and foaming with madness, charged upon us. One of them tossed Amos Cox of Company D into the air, and knocked down a span of mules, goring one of them till his entrails hung out, which soon died; Cox's wound was four inches long and three deep. While these two bulls were performing thus, others stood a few rods off seemingly unable to determine whether they should charge or await the issue; they chose the latter course; meantime, the two bulls retreated, closely pursued. Then our attention

¹ Journal History, 506, Keysor's Journal.

was turned to the bulls that were looking on. Some officers shouted "shoot them," others cried, "let them alone"; amid this confusion the wagons and part of the command moved on. The battle was renewed on our side and in a few minutes the enemy lay weltering in their blood. After advancing about half a mile another bull came rushing out of the muskeet thicket, and charged upon the hind end of a wagon, lifting it partly around, and knocking down a mule, but his career was short for all the command now had their muskets loaded, and soon greeted our fierce opponent with a shower of bullets. These bulls were very hard to kill; they would run off with half a dozen balls in them unless they were shot in the heart.

The Indians apparently had killed off the cows. Marched fifteen miles.

12. Today we again followed the river and passed two old deserted Spanish Towns.² Some good lands here, stream not so rapid. Travelled in much misery hardly able to go. 15 miles to day. Camp'd on the River.

13. S. This morning I found that one of our Pilots had returned from a Garrison³ some 40 miles ahead. The Col having sent 3 of them to spy out the route. They went to this Town to Ascertain whether we could pass through the Town to California, it being 100 miles nearer and our Provisions short. The Pilot said he had not been to the Town but that Dr. Foster had gone on. He reported 22⁴ strong and some Cannon, and that they could probably raise some 7 or 800 more, swelling their number to 1000. We travelled 9 miles to-day and camp'd to prepare for battle, not knowing but we

² One of these towns was "probably the true San Pedro. . . ." (Cooke, Journal, 38.)

³ Tucson. (Tyler, 224.)

⁴ Two hundred. (Cooke, Journal, 38.)

may be met. 28 rounds of cartridges dealt out to each man and inspection of arms at this place. Battalion drill by the Col and Manuals by our Co officers.

14. Reveille at 4 this morning and started very early. I was detailed for a guard this morning. Camp'd on a small creek came 20 miles, a distillery here and several Indians. Six Spanish Soldiers here and Sergt.

15. Struck tents this morning and resumed our march over a rocky, mountainous and broken country for 5 miles. At 10 o'clock the Col took 3 Spanish soldiers prisoners and sent two of our guides with one Spaniard to the Garrison. The Spaniards having detained Dr. Foster a prisoner, we now had three of the Spaniards and in case they should keep our Guides we should be even with them. The news brought the Col by the Soldiers was that the Governor⁵ of Tucson wished us to pass round the town and not come through as he could not let us pass through without fighting. Travelled today 18 miles and camp'd without water.

16. During last nights watch some 8 or 10 Spaniards came from the Garrison to camp, bringing Dr. Foster with them, our two guides also returning with them. The Col Delivering up to them the 3 Spaniards. Dr Foster informed the Col that they had plenty of Flour, Cornmeal, Beans &c. for sale. And that the inhabitants were leaving the town for fear of us coming in contact with the Soldiers. He could not say whether the soldiers would defend the Town or not. Early this morning the 5 Cos. were paraded and march'd at a quick pace to Tucson. The Col determined to pass through. This Town is in the north of the District of Sonora in New Mexico. Many of the brethren travelled this 18 m. without either food or drink suffering much for want of water, having none last night or yesterday. When we arrived at the Town, we found but a few of the Inhabitants, the Soldiery having fled with their Cannon and also having forced many of the people to leave also. We were kindly treated by the people of Tucson who brought Flour, Meal, Tobacco, Quinces to the camp for

⁵ "Don Antonio Comaduran, commandant Presidio of Tucson" [Tucson]. (Cooke, Journal, 44.)

sale and many of them giving such things to the Soldiers. We camp'd about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile from Town. The Col suffered no private property to be touched, neither was it in the heart of any man to my knowledge so to do. 2000 bushels of wheat belonging to the Spanish ⁶ Government was found out which we were ordered to feed the Animals but none was taken for food for the Soldiers as the teams were too weak to haul the same.

17. This morning the Col concluded to lay by and rest the teams, the men also needing rest very much. Wheat sufficient to do the teams the next 90 miles taken today as we now have a desert of that length to cross without either feed or water. The brethren here purchased a little flour &c. of the Spaniards some carrying a portion themselves and others putting it into the wagons, unknown to the Col. Volunteers called for by the Col to go to the next town and take it, the Co being raised they started but returned the Col finding their reinforcements ⁷ to have been great.—Surely the Lord is on our side for when we see the advantages the Spaniards ⁸ had in this town their numbers being far greater than ours, the Cavina ⁹ also and in a walled town, well defended against musketry, I am led to exclaim that the Lord God of Israel will save his people in as much as He knoweth the cause of our being here in the United States Service.

18. Last night about 12 o'clock the Picket Guard fired an alarm gun. When the Bugle immediately sounded to arms and in a few minutes all were ready for battle. The Col took one Co into town, but soon returned having ascertained the cause of the alarm. Some of the inhabitants were returning to their homes finding that we were not savages. And the Picket Guard thought it to be the soldiery. This morning we struck

⁶ Mexican. Standage makes no distinction between Mexican and Spaniard.

⁷ Also fear of ambush in the dense covert. (Cooke, Journal. 43.)

⁸ On January 10 Cooke records: "Talking with Dr. Foster, the interpreter, this evening, I for the first time became aware that I had all the time been laboring under a mistake as to the number of Mexican troops at Tueson; that they were about a hundred and thirty instead of two hundred and thirty, as mentioned in a late official letter to Captain Turner." (Cooke, Journal, 66.)

⁹ Cavin, a natural depression adapted to cover troops.

tents at 8 o'clock and resumed our march travelling till noon over some good land well timbered, when we came to a large plain, no grass, and but very little brush, travelled till 8 in the evening and camp'd without water. 30 miles.¹⁰

19. Started again by day light and travelled fast towards the Ela¹¹ River. Travelled till a little after dark and still no prospects of water when the Col halted and gave permission for all those who could not proceed to camp and help themselves to Pork &c. and for those who felt able to proceed on with him in search of water. I gladly accepted the offer as did many there, although I was almost choked with thirst and hardly able to stand when I stopped. I camp'd at the first fire I came to as some had already stopped without leave being worn out. The Brethren were passing by at all hours through the night still hoping that the Command had found water, travelling two or three miles at a time and resting.

20. S. This morning the rear Guard came along about 1 hour before day and requested all who were able to start on, some went while others were not able. I did not go till daylight. Found fires all along the trail where the brethren had lain through the night which served for us to warm at by the help of a little more brush, as the morning was cold. Met Lieut Rosecrans returning on a mule loaded with Canteens of water relieving those of Co C. who had lain out he having found a little in holes some distance from the road but the Command had gone on. The Lieut. informed us the water was about 2 miles distant we accordingly left the wagon trail and to the trail pointed out by him, here we found T.E.D. Howel and W. Pollet of my mess in Co E, who had with them the mule laded with our mess concerns, some Gov. Pork, some flour and corn of our own purchased at Touson. We soon parch'd some corn made some bread and fried some pork, though not till we had well satisfied ourselves with muddy water. After we had breakfasted we packed up and followed

¹⁰ Cooke gives a more probable figure, twenty-four miles. (Cooke, Journal, 46.)

¹¹ Gila, a river about 550 miles in length that rises in the west central part of New Mexico and flows in a general westerly direction through Arizona until it reaches the Colorado River, near the California border.

on towards the River. Co C having gone while we were cooking, passed by many lying on the road side begging for water not having found the place we did. Overtook the camp at 3 P.M. and rested for the night. Plenty of water.

21. Struck tents early and travelled till 10 A.M. when we came to a point from which we could see the Ela River and on the other side the long looked for country of California. The River running west and Sonora being on the South side and California on the North. At about 2 P.M. when near the River the Pemose¹² Indians some 200 in number came to trade with us bringing meal, corn, beans, dried pumpkins, and water melons which they readily exchanged for old shirts &c. These Indians appear glad to see us, many of them running and taking us by the hand. The weather is very warm like unto April in Illinois. Camp'd on the Ela River.

22. To day I travelled as rear guard. Quite warm so much so that the brethren when stopping to rest were glad to seek a shade. Camp'd at the Pemose village¹³ a great many Indians here well provided for with grain &c. Purchased some beans and meal of them so that we have full rations once more, though at our own expense.

23. Travelled down the Ela a great many Indians waiting by the road side to look at us, fell in with Gen Kearneys trail

¹² Pima, the name of a division of the Piman family, dwelling in the valleys of the Gila and Salt in southern Arizona. Early in the nineteenth century the Maricopa, driven from their former home at the mouth of the Gila by the Yuma and Mohave, joined them, and since that time the two have lived together in harmony. They are primarily an agricultural people, having utilized irrigation from prehistoric times. Always peaceable, but when attacked, as frequently they were by the Apaches, they showed themselves not lacking in courage. Curiously enough, they took no scalps, believing their enemies to be possessed of evil spirits and best left alone when killed. Their population has grown from an estimated 2500 in 1775 to 3936 in 1906. (Hodge, II, 251-253.)

"The Pimos are large and fine looking; seem well fed, ride good horses, and are variously clothed, though many have only the centre cloth; they have an extraordinary length and luxuriance of hair. With their large white cotton blankets and streaming hair, they present, when mounted, quite a fine figure; but innocence and cheerfulness are their most distinctive characteristics." (Cooke, Journal, 50.)

¹³ Estimated to contain 4000 inhabitants. (Tyler, 234.)

—saw a loom and some Indians weaving blankets of cotton, see some spinning very curiously.—Bought a cake for a button. Called at an Indian hut, where they gave us some stewed pumpkin. Travelled 15 miles.—Camp'd on the River. Gen Kearney sent three Pilots to guide us through to San Diego. They said we were a month ahead of the Gen's expectations.

24. Today we laid by to rest there being good feed for our teams. The Col also wishing to trade with the Indians.¹⁴ Early this morning they began to come into camp probably at one time there was 1000 in the camp. Much trading done by the Col and the men. I eat some watermelon to day which was a great rarity for Christmas time. Molasses, pumpkins, Corn Meal, Flour Beans, Buckskins, Ponies and various other things brought in for sale.

25. Struck tents at 10 A.M. and left the River and the Pemose¹⁵ villages to strike across a bend travelled till ten o'clock P.M. Roads bad, I drove pack mules to day.

26. Struck tents quite early and travelled over a barren plain 28 miles and camp'd on the Ela River.

27. Started late, roads bad, Mules worn out. I went in the Advance as Pioneer, 8 miles.

28. Travelled 12 miles down the River. Last evening news¹⁶ was given the Col by some Spanish¹⁷ Families on their

¹⁴ Mariposa, an important Yuman tribe, their habitat being in the region from about Lat. 35° to the mouth of the Gila. Early in the nineteenth century, for protection against the Yuma, their enemies, though kindred, they joined the Pima and, although they do not understand their language, have lived harmoniously with them. They have dwindled from about 3000 in 1775 to 350 in 1905. (Hodge, I, 805-806.)

"... meat is a great rarity with them, so much so that I am even told they ate to-day a poor mule of ours that died in camp. They thrive, however, on the vegetable diet, are large and fat. They have the simplicity of nature, and none of the fancied dignified reserve, attributed as a universal characteristic of Indians." (Cooke, Journal, 53.)

"... notwithstanding a different language, all that has been said of the Pimos is applicable to them." (Cooke, Conquest, 164.)

¹⁵ Maricopa. (Tyler, 237.)

¹⁶ Cooke says that they reported the capture of a small place above San Diego and the failure of an attack on the pueblo several months before by Commodore Stockton. (Cook, Journal, 55.)

¹⁷ Cooke speaks only of a New Mexican and a Chilean. (*Ibid.*, 55.)

way to Sonora from California of Commodore Stockton¹⁸ and Gen Kearney, acting in unison in taking the Territory and that many of the inhabitants were leaving for Sonora.

29. March'd as advance guard to day through deep sands—12 miles.

30. Travelled 18 miles, pushed wagons to day through the sand till after dark.

31. Travelled 12 miles. Roads still bad.

1847

Jan. 1st. Travelled 12 miles roads good—Met two families returning from California, who gave us word that Gen Kearney had had a brush with the Spaniards, but the result¹⁹ he did not ascertain. He also gave us some information concerning the Country &c. The Col has at last hit upon a plan for conveying our provisions down this valley and as many of the Soldiers think at our expense by constructing boats out of wagon boxes, lashing them together and loading them with flour, Pork &c. This plan will certainly lighten the loads for the mules and enable them to travel faster but I am of the opinion it is very risky.²⁰

¹⁸ On July 23, 1846, Commodore Stockton took over the command of the shore forces at Monterey from Commodore Sloat, and several days later the squadron itself. Prominent in the conquest of southern Upper California, he assumed command there for a time. His chief concern with the present narrative consists in his relations with Kearney, to whom he sent despatches acquainting him with the occupation of California. Having received this intelligence shortly after leaving Santa Fé, Kearney sent back all but about 100 dragoons and continued his march. When he reached Warner's ranch and learned of the insurrection, he asked for reinforcements, which came and rendered valuable service in the battle of San Pasqual. After difficulties with Stockton and Frémont, Kearney succeeded in establishing his authority over the conquered province. (Smith, I, 336-346.)

¹⁹ "... their account of news varies from the former story; and we only know that the General had a sharp engagement, in which, an Indian reported some killed on both sides." (Cooke, Journal, 58.)

²⁰ "The Gila is a rapid stream of clear water, in places three or four feet deep, and here about 150 yards wide." (*Ibid.*, 59.)

"The curious barge, which was loaded with twenty-five hundred pounds of provisions for the men and corn for our mules, was launched on the 1st or 2nd of January. It was expected that it would be moored or fastened near our camp every night, but trouble was experienced almost immediately after it started, in get-

2. Proceeded but 12 m. Roads bad.
3. Went 12 m. further. Roads still bad.
4. March'd 10 miles and camp'd quite early. Roads better and plenty of wood.

5. Today Dr Foster brought us news of the very low stage of the water in consequence of which Lieut Stoneman had been compelled to lighten the loads, by leaving some sacks of Pork & Flour on the sand bars and banks of the stream.²¹ The Boats were still coming down. This is just as I expected.

6. Detailed for the Col's Orderly. Travelled 10 miles and was kept up very late.

7. Travelled 10 m. today. quite weak and hungry, I purchased a piece of bread & meat of one of the Col's waiters, a Regular.

8. Travelled 18 M. Roads good.

9. Not knowing but we might be met by an armed force at the crossing of the Colorado—the Col ordered Co. E to march close to the advance guard in front of the baggage wagons. Camp'd on the banks of the Big Colorado.

10. Today the Col was under the necessity of laying by as it is a tedious business crossing so large a stream, with so many things as are necessary for a Battalion of infantry to perform so long and tedious a journey. Two days has passed and this is now the 3rd since some few men with a Corporal were sent back to try and find the flour and pork left by Lieut Stoneman. Two ²² of them returned bringing some flour ²³—Men detailed to prepare boats to cross the River—Also some detailed to go to the Brush and gather Muskets [mesquite], a kind of sweet seed that grows on the tree resembling the honey locust. The mules and men being very fond of

ting it over a sandbar, and after that we neither saw nor heard anything of it for several days. During this time, the command struggled along the river bank with great difficulty, and were oppressed with apprehensions concerning the boat and its valuable cargo. Fears were entertained that it had fallen into the hands of the Mexicans or Indians, or that it had foundered on a sandbar." (Tyler, 239.)

²¹ "... some twenty miles above the last camp." (Cooke, Journal, 62.)

²² Three. (Cooke, Journal, 66.)

²³ Four hundred and twenty pounds. (Ibid., 66.)

this. The brethren use this in various ways some grinding it and mixing it in bread with the flour, others making pudding, while some roast it or eat it raw.

11. This morning when I awoke I found that the men had been crossing all night by details but my turn had not come. By sun two hours high the Battalion were all safely landed in upper California. Some crossing on mules, others in the wagon beds &c. The river here is about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile wide.²⁴ Travelled 15 miles to a well that Gen Kearney caused to be dug which afforded us plenty²⁵ of water both for man and beast. Camp'd after dark.

12. This morning I was detailed for a camp Guard and afterwards for the Col's Orderly. Did not start till 11 o'clock as that much time was necessary to water all the animals. Travelled 12 m. and camp'd without water.

13. Struck tents quite early and travelled to the next well.²⁶ Lieut. Holman had been sent ahead with some pioneers to dig more wells and clean out the one that the Gen had caused to be dug. Found plenty of water in all of the wells, came 13 miles today.

14. Left camp at 11 A.M. and camp'd without grass or water.

15. Travelled 10 miles to the General's next well²⁷ got there by noon found hardly any water here, not enough for the men. Some of the Pilots who had been sent for supplies several days since returned to us here bringing 4 Indians to assist them in driving the beeves and mules, having procured 10 beeves and 42 mules. Here we cook'd some new beef and bread and left at 4 o'clock P.M. for running water—distance 35 miles—Traveled after 4 P.M. 10 miles and laid down on the desert with 5 others had some Pickled pork of which we used freely the main body having gone still further.

16. Started quite early and travelled with 4 pack mules,

²⁴ Cooke says the stream was one mile wide at this point. (*Ibid.*, 67.)

²⁵ Cooke says that this supply of water failed despite efforts to increase its flow. (*Ibid.*, 68.)

²⁶ This probably the Alamo Morter wells, where 2 wagons were left. (Cooke, Journal, 74.)

²⁷ Pozo Hondo. (*Ibid.*, 72.)

saw many of the brethren laying by the road side begging water and many mules give out. Did not reach camp till 8 P.M. Found plenty of running water.²⁸ I suffered much this day for want of water as did also my brethren. We have suffered much in crossing this desert.

17. Travelled 15 miles over a very sandy ground. I did not reach camp²⁹ till after dark.

18. Today there being plenty of grass we laid by. I was detailed for the Col's Orderly today. We are now without Flour, Bread, Coffee or sugar. Nothing but beef and very small rations of it. I was glad today to go and pick up the Pork Rines that were thrown away by the Col's cook although they were in the sand. Some Indians³⁰ came in to day bringing news³¹ from San Diego.

19. Today we started quite early and travelled about 7 miles through a barren valley when we came to a narrow pass in the rocks, so narrow that we were obliged to break off the rocks, the pass being too narrow to admit a wagon to pass. Sun down by the time we got through and camp'd about 1 mile on the other side without water. This has been the narrowest pass we have seen on the route and had it not been for this opening we probably would have left all our wagons.

20. After going one mile we came to a very bad Mountain to cross. Rocks so large that the wagons had to be lifted over them, at 8 miles distance we came to some good water. 2 Beeves killed and Rationed out. Drilled by the Col. and travelled 8 miles further.

²⁸ The Cariza. (*Ibid.*, 73.)

²⁹ Bajiocito. (*Ibid.*, 74.)

³⁰ "... fine-looking men, nearly naked, hair long, and face painted with red spots. Their language seemed bad, somewhat resembling that of the Apaches." One of these Indians was the alcalde of San Phillipi. (Cooke, Journal, 75.) The San Felipe Indians inhabit a Keresan pueblo on the west bank of the Rio Grande, about twelve miles above Bernalillo, north central Mexico, where they finally established themselves after having lived at several different pueblos. They are a relatively unimportant tribe. (Hodge, II, 432.)

³¹ A letter written three days before by "Mr. Montgomery, commander of ship Portsmouth, and governor of San Diego. He writes me that my party arrived the 14th instant; welcomes my approach, and promises refreshment, &c., for the battalion." Several items in this letter referred to Kearney's activities. (Cooke, Journal, 75.)

21. To day we were drilled by the Col again as we are now drawing nigh to Settlements. Camp'd on Mr. Warner's land, a Yankee from the State of Massachusetts. He owns a very large tract of land, which is work'd by Indians. The Col here purchased three beeves for about 1.16 a head—this man having thousands of Cattle, horses &c.&c., the hides reserved by Warner. No bread to be obtained here only in little from the Indians.

22. Today we laid by as there is plenty of grass and water. Our Rations increased to 4 lbs ³² of beef per day. Various reports from Pueblo ³³ and San Diego but nothing definite from the Gen. although I yet believe things will yet be favorable to us as a Battalion and that we shall not have much to do in the fighting line. At this place there is a spring of hot water, ³⁴ hot enough to scald swine.

23. Left Warners early. I was detailed for a guard; march'd in the advance all day. Saw some good situations for farming land generally good in the valleys. Commenced rain about 3 P.M. Travelled about 25m.

24. Last night was an uncommon night to us in this country raining in torrents the whole of the night. Got no rest, on guard in all the rain. Jackets all wet. In a very poor condition to defend ourselves, should an enemy approach. Very disagreeable this morning, did not start till 11 A.M. Travelled only 3 miles, creeks full, roads bad. Travelled with our wet Blankets around us.

25. Cleared off last night and fine and clear this morning. Travelled through some small but rich valleys. Came into a large valley ³⁵ about 3 P.M. which exceeds any thing I have seen yet both for the sites it contains and the richness of the soil. It being also finely watered by springs and creeks. We here came in sight of a few houses at the west end of the valley and a line of horsemen stretched across the valley which

³² The ration was two and a half pounds before this increase. (Cooke, Journal, 79.)

³³ Los Angeles.

³⁴ Aguas Calientes. Temperature about 170° Fahrenheit. (Cooke, Journal, 79.) Emory gives the figure as 137°. (Emory, 106.)

³⁵ Probably the Temecala [Temecula]. (Cooke, Journal, 81.) Or San Luis. (Tyler, 251.)

were taken to be Spaniards but after proved to be Indians who thought we were Spaniards and were prepared to attack them. Here we camp'd for the night. This evening an express came from San Diego from the Governor, stating that the Spaniards were about to come to terms of peace and that we were to come to San Diego.

26. This morning the Indians were busy in burying their dead. The Mexicans or Spaniards and them had had a battle previous to our arrival. Instead of continuing our course to Pueblo de Los Angeles to assist the Gen. we altered our course for San Diego, with the direction we had received from the Governor. Vegetation is flourishing, grass and clover high enough for excellent feed. I gathered some mustard this evening for greens. Large droves of cattle, horses and Mules.

27. Struck tents quite early and resumed our march at 12 A.M. We come to the missions of San Louis or as it is called by the Californians San Louis Rey.³⁶ This is a Roman Catholic mission. Several Indian huts near by but no houses only what are attached to the Mission. Here is a vineyard of some 20 acres, beautifully situated. Here an express came to us from the Gen. from San Diego where the Gen now is. We are to take quarters in a Romish Church 5 miles from the Port of San Diego. 1 o'clock P.M. we came in sight of the Ocean, the great Pacific, which was a great sight to some, never having seen any portion of the Briny deep before.

28. Last night we camp'd in sight of a farm house³⁷ but the Inhabitants had gone. Passed two other houses today. Saw thousands of cattle, horses &c. all wild. Was detailed for one of the advance Guard. March'd with very sore feet; came 15 m. Saw little or no improvements around these Spanish dwell-

³⁶ San Luis, the Franciscan mission San Luis Rey de Francia, was founded on June 13, 1798, in San Diego county, California. It was the last mission established in California south of Santa Barbara, and the last one founded by Father Lasuen. The docility of the Indians accounted for the fact that San Luis Rey had the most rapid growth and the lowest death rate of all the missions. At the time of secularization in 1834 it led the California missions in the number of neophytes (2844) and in the quantity of live stock. In 1846 Governor Pico sold what was left of the buildings and grounds. (Hodge, II, 448-449. Catholic Encyclopedia, X, 370.)

³⁷ Agua Hedionda. (Cooke, Journal, 83.)

lings. It is now Spring ³⁸ though in January—everything seems to rejoice; the grass, the trees, weeds, the birds on the trees, all, all seem to rejoice. Plenty of wild cattle. Travelled in sight of the Ocean nearly all day.

29. The Battalion left camp at Sun Rise. I was very much worn out being on guard all night and my feet very sore. Not time this morning to eat my breakfast before my Co left Camp. Travelled very fast to overtake the Battalion, came to a mule trail running over the points near the Sea Shore; saw many take that Trail, took it myself and soon found myself on the trail to San Diego while the Battalion had gone round to a Mission House 5 miles from the sea shore. Ten of us after coming in sight of San Diego took across the country to the Mission and night soon coming on we laid out having only four blankets with us.

30. This morning as soon as light we commenced search for some cattle thinking to find a calf to breakfast on. Quite misty and foggy, Heard the Drum at some distance and made tracks for Camp. Reach'd camp about 8 A.M. Rested for the rest of the day at San Diego Mission. The Church and Mission House are very large. Plenty of olive trees, vines &c. &c. also a large garden, walled in with an Adobe wall. The Spaniards have all left, some few Indians living here who seem to be glad the Spaniards are gone. Sixty Regulars of Co's C. & K of the 1st. Dragoons, came to Quarter here this evening.³⁹

³⁸ Tyler's statement is probably more accurate: "January there, seemed as pleasant as May in the northern States, and the wild oats, grass, mustard and other vegetable growths were as forward as we had been used to seeing them in June." (Tyler, 253.)

³⁹ The first mission established within the present limits of the State of California. It was formally founded by Father Junipero Serra in 1769 and dedicated to San Diego de Alcala. After it had been moved once and burned once, a period of prosperity set in, and by 1800, with 1523 neophytes, it was the most populous mission in California. The mission building and the orchards were in charge of the padres until about 1846, when they were sold to the Mexican governor, Pico. In 1852 the buildings were used as barracks for the United States troops. (Hodge, II, 430-431.)

COLONEL COOKE CONGRATULATES THE BATTALION ¹

Head Quarter Mormon Battalion
Colonel Cooke Mission of San Diego.
January 30, 1847.

The Lieutenant Colonel commanding congratulates the Battalion on their safe arrival on the shore of the Pacific Ocean and the conclusion of their march of over two thousand miles.

History may be searched in vain for an equal march of infantry. Half of it has been through a wilderness where nothing but savages and wild beasts are found, or deserts where, for want of water, there is no living creature. There, with almost hopeless labor, we have dug deep wells, which the future traveler will enjoy. Without a guide who had traversed them, we have entered into trackless table lands where water was not found for several marches. With crowbar and pick and ax in hand, we have worked our way over the mountains, which seemed to defy aught save the wild goat and hewed a passage through a chasm of living rock more narrow than our wagons. To bring these first wagons to the Pacific, we have preserved the strength of our mules by herding them over large tracts, which you have laboriously guarded without loss. The garri-

¹ Tyler, 254-255.

son of four presidios of Sonora concentrated within the walls of Tucson, gave us no pause. We drove them out, with their artillery, but our intercourse with the citizens was unmarked by a single act of injustice. Thus, marching half naked, and half fed, and living upon wild animals, we have discovered and made a road of great value to our country.

Arrived at the first settlement of California, after a single day's rest, you cheerfully turned off from the routes to this point of promised repose, to enter upon a campaign, and meet, as we supposed, the approach of an enemy; and this too, without even salt to season your sole subsistence of fresh meat.

Lieutenant A. J. Smith and George Stoneman, of the First Dragoons, have shared and given valuable aid in all these labors, thus volunteers, you have exhibited some high and essential qualities of veterans. But much remains undone. Soon, you will turn your attention to the drill, to system and order, to forms also, which are all necessary to the soldier.

By order Lieut. Colonel P. St. George Cooke.

P. C. MERRILL, Adjutant.

31. The Battalion tarried here today. I got permission to go to San Diego, for the purpose of procuring if possible a pair of shoes, being barefooted, and destitute of many things. Could not so much as purchase an ear of corn or anything else in the bread line; some sugar for sale at 50 cents per lb. No shoes to be had or much else. Returned and I went after waiting on $\frac{1}{4}$ lb of sugar. Gathered some Mustard on my return and laid me down in my tent having travelled 12 miles all to no purpose. Orders came this evening to march back, to San

Louis Ray and take up Quarters. It does seem as if we never should have rest while in the service of the U. S.

Feb. 1. Struck tents once more and travelled 18 miles towards San Louis Ray.

2. Very warm and some rainy. March'd as an advance guard; 15 miles.

3. Very much fatigued this morning and hardly able to start with the Battalion. Stood Guard last night in a fine mist the whole night. Suffered much from a swelling on my hand and arm. Fell in the rear today not being able to keep up. 12 A.M. we came to San Louis, situated on the St. Louis River ² in sight of the Ocean.

4. This morning I went to the Dr to get my hand dressed, Men detailed to clean out the Quarters. This Mission House is a fine building, occupying many acres of land said to be the finest building in upper California. Very large Gardens in the south of the valley and some to north; a very large vineyard also in the north, olive trees, pepper trees, orange trees and many others, a large reservoir also for watering the vineyard. Situated 5 miles from the Ocean.

5. Rested all day.

6. Went in to the garden and wash'd my shirt and a pair of pants which I made out of an old wagon cover all the clothing I have.

7. S. Things are now about Regulated a Federal Inspection today of arms, quarters, men &c. We soon shall have to learn the Manual exercise which is very essential to the Soldier.

8. Today Col. Cook commenced to drill with the Battalion organising the men in Squads of 10 each. Drilled 2 hours, morning and afternoon.

9. Drill today at 10 A.M. and 3 P.M. nothing but beef ³ to eat yet, but plenty of it.

² A small stream, about sixty miles in length, that flows in a westerly direction through San Diego county, California, and empties into the Pacific Ocean.

³ "... five pounds is only a half ration compared with what was issued to Fremont's battalion, when without other food than beef as in that case each 'consumed an average of ten pounds a day of fat beef.' Yet five pounds each (and seldom that amount) was

10. 11. 12. Drill as usual.

13. On guard last night; very disagreeable heavy mist all night.

14. S. Today a detail was made to go with Pack Mules to bring flour here, a man having agreed to furnish some by a certain date. General inspection at 9 A.M. The Col gave two rooms to Co. E. today their quarters being too small, 45 of us being crowded into a room 18 by 20 and no chimney fireplace, stove or anything else for cooking, doing all our cooking and sleeping in this room. At 2 P.M. G.P. Dykes, by Cap Hunt's request and the Col's permission, preached to the Battalion from Dan 2 Chap. Cap Hunt also made some remarks.

15. This morning the Battalion commenced drilling with their Muskets.

16. 17. Drill as usual.

18. It is now 26 days since I have eaten anything but beef. I purchased a little wheat of some Indians and ground it in a hand mill, made some cakes, which was a treat.

19. Some mules came in this morning loaded with Beans for the Battalion and in the evening the brethren who went with pack mules returned with 2300 of coarse flour not bolted. And the Col caused to be issued 10 oz. per day to the men and $\frac{1}{2}$ pint of beans to every mess of 9, reducing our beef from $4\frac{1}{2}$ lbs to 2 lbs per day.

20. Drill as usual every day.

21. S. Inspection of Quarters, Arms &c. at 9 A. M. and at 11 o'clock by the request of Levi Hancock, Elder Tyler preached to the brethren on the necessity of remembering their Covenants especially those who have clothed themselves with the garments of Salvation, speaking very much against swearing and other vices.

22. Drill.

23. Drill. 13 of flour given to each man in addition to the 10 oz. also more beef.

the extent ever issued to the famishing 'Mormon' soldiers, although it could be obtained in abundance for less than one cent per pound." (Tyler, 252.)

24. This morning we received an additional ounce of flour making $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. per day and 3 lbs. of beef.

25. Drill as usual. Very much fatigued with last night's guarding.

26. Today I took a walk to the Indian Village west of this; Leonard and I purchased some milk and corn. The 2 wagons returned from San Diego today loaded with Flour, Coffee, Sugar, Pork &c.⁴ Commenced dealing it to us in small rations. This evening we were called out on Dress Parade and the sentence read of those boys who had killed an Indian's cow, the sentence of a Court Martial, Cap Hunt, Lieut Holman & Cliff composing the court. They were sentenced to pay each 2.50⁵ to the Indian and to be confined a certain time, a portion of the time to be kept in the Black hole. John Borrowman also was tried for sleeping on his post, plead guilty and set free.⁶

27. Wagons sent to San Diego general washing today of belts &c.

28. S. Today a detail was made with Lieut Thompson to go as far as the Colorado River to bring on the wagons &c. left on our route to this place. General inspection at 2 A.M. We are now through with the journey and attending to the duties of the Garrison—Roll call at daylight, Sick call at $7\frac{1}{2}$; breakfast call at 8; 40 M. drill at 10 A.M. and 3 P.M. Roll call at Sundown. Tattoo at $8\frac{1}{2}$ P.M. and the taps at 9.

March 1. 2. 3 & 4. Drill as usual; on this the 4th in the evening 3 letters were read to the different Cos. one to Gen Kearney by Cap Hunt one from Cedar Creek and one from San Louis Ray.

5 & 6. Drill.

7. S. Very cold winds, so much so as to make it very disagreeable. Inspection at 9 A.M. and Dress Parade at 4 P.M. I went to the Indian Village today, saw some very aged In-

⁴Provisions were sent here from the Sandwich Islands. (Tyler 267.)

⁵A cow usually sold for about two to four dollars. This Indian, therefore, was satisfied with seven dollars and fifty cents. (*Ibid.*, 268.)

⁶The court martial made the sentence so light that the colonel indignantly remitted it. (*Ibid.*)

dians which while meditating on the Restoration,⁷ Mormonism, &c. Brought to my mind the words of Isaiah⁸ "There shall no more thence be an infant nor an old man that hath not filled his days &c. &c. God being pleased to remove his people into so healthy a country. Surely the Times of Restitution⁹ has begun.

8. Snow seen on the Mountains today; very cold last night. We have not seen any snow this winter except on the Mountains.

9. 10. 11. 12. Drill as usual by Companies.

13. Battalion Drill today.

14. S. Visited by Cap Turner, who is now Adj. General. Inspection on dress parade at 4 P.M. by the Col.¹⁰

15. This morning Co. B. left for San Diego dividing us once more.

16. Drill, nothing of note.

17. Today we received 4 days rations and found that instead of 12 oz. of flour we got but 8 and instead of $\frac{3}{4}$ lb. of Pickled Pork we got but $\frac{3}{4}$ of Salt Beef thus reducing our Rations very much. Great talk through the Battalion of refusing to do duty until more food is furnished as the country

⁷ "They believe that God does now reveal to his people many things as in days of old; that the heavens are not sealed, but that many important things are yet to be revealed pertaining to the kingdom of God; in the literal gathering of Israel; in the restoration of the ten tribes; that Jerusalem will be rebuilt; that Zion shall be established on the American continent, and that the Saviour, in the millennium, will reign personally on the earth, which shall eventually become a celestial sphere and the eternal abode of the righteous." (Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia, VIII, 11.)

⁸ Isaiah, LXV, 20. "There shall be no more thence an infant of days, nor an old man that hath not filled his days; for the child shall die an hundred years old; but the sinner being an hundred years old, shall be accursed."

⁹ A more comprehensive term than restoration. Restoration means simply the return to earth of the church that was established in apostolic days on the teachings of Jesus Christ. The founding of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-day Saints is believed by the Mormons to have been a step in this direction. Restitution means the return to the restored church of everything comprised in the divine plan as rapidly as the people can receive and understand the laws. (Cf. Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia, VIII, 11.)

¹⁰ Ordered there by Kearney to take the place of a company of regulars who had gone to Pueblo. (Bigler MS.)

abounds in beef and a plenty of rations at San Diego. Several of Co D put under guard and Maxwell put in the stocks for refusing to drill.

18. Drill dispensed with and preparations made to leave San Louis Ray for De Pueblo de Los Angeles, many barefooted. I wrapped some raw hides around my feet and got ready.

19. This morning the Battalion left San Louis Ray excepting the sick, leaving Lieut. Holman in command of the sick &c. Travelled 20 miles towards Pueblo de Los Angeles (or settlement of the Angels) Camp'd close to the sea shore. The Col increased our rations of beef this evening.

20. Struck tents at Sun Rise and march'd 10 miles on the Sea Beach. Then took up a valley of very rich land for 3 miles, when we came to St. John's Mission,¹¹ a large stone building, rent by earthquake, some 30 years ago. Plenty of beautiful fruit trees here such as Quince, Pear, Apple, Orange, Fig, Olive, Pepper, date and a large Vineyard. Camp'd this evening at Foster's Range. I suffered much today my feet being very sore. The raw hide with which I had bound my feet around having become very hard by the Sun: March'd as rear Guard and guarded mules through the night.

21. S. Very much worn out this morning. Travelled into a very large plain; land good and thousands of cattle and horses roving over the plain. Not a house in sight. Flowers of every hue and kind but little timber and water. Very much worn out indeed. The Brethren generally so. Came 23 Miles.

22. Struck tents quite early and resumed our march over this large plain. Cattle seen today also as far as the eye can reach. I fell in the rear today did not reach camp till sun

¹¹San Juan Capistrano, a mission formally founded by Fathers Serra, Mugartegui, and Amurrio on November 1, 1776. A stone church was begun in 1797 and completed in 1806. Built under the supervision of a master builder imported from Mexico, it became known as the largest and handsomest church in California and the pride of mission architecture. The edifice was so seriously damaged by an earthquake in 1812 that it was never rebuilt. (J. M. Gwinn, "A History of California and an Extended History of Its Southern Coast Counties," I, 59-60.)

down. Camp'd on the River ¹² San Gabriel. Here Gen Kearney and Commodore Stockton fought a battle ¹³ with the Spaniards. The Americans coming off victorious.

23. This morning we waded San Gabriel and arrived in Pueblo de Los Angeles about noon, found it a very pleasant place, much land cultivated here. ¹⁴ It lies on the San Pedro river. March'd into Town and there being no Quarters convenient for us we returned 1 mile and camp'd while the Regulars (Dragoons) staid in town with the Col. Camp'd in a beautiful green close to the Indian Ranchasee, ¹⁵ in sight of the town of Pueblo. Eat stinking beef dealt to us (Col's doing).

24. To day the Battalion rested and the Col & Doctor went to San Gabriel Mission ¹⁶ on San Gabriel River to examine the Quarters &c as some of Fremont's ¹⁷ men (Missouri

¹² Rises in San Bernardino county, and flows about seventy miles in a southwesterly direction through Los Angeles county into the Pacific.

¹³ A sharp engagement on January 8, 1847, between a body of about 450 men under J. M. Flores, the provisional governor of California, and Commodore Stockton's force. The American troops forded the San Gabriel River at Bartolo, charged the Mexican troops, who were occupying a fifty-foot eminence 600 yards beyond the river. The ground was easily gained and the Mexicans were dislodged. (Smith, I, 343.)

¹⁴ Los Angeles, El Pueblo de Nuestra Señora la Reina de Los Angeles (City of Our Lady, the Queen of the Angels), was founded in 1781 under the direction of Governor Nève. In 1839, when Alvarado divided Alta California into two districts, Los Angeles was made the capital of the South. The Mexican rule ended on August 13, 1846, when Commodore Stockton took possession of the city and raised the United States flag. (Lyman P. Powell (ed.) "Historic Towns of the Western States," 652 ff.)

¹⁵ Probably a corruption of the Spanish Rancho, ranch.

¹⁶ The fourth Franciscan mission established in California, founded on September 8, 1771. The fertility of the surrounding soil enabled it to provide other missions with supplies. The advantageous position occupied by this mission on the overland route from Sonora and the Colorado to Lower California accounted in a large measure for its success. (Hodge, II, 439.)

¹⁷ John C. Frémont (1813-1890), an American soldier and explorer, who after leading several exploring expeditions into the Rocky Mountain region, played an important rôle in the California revolt of 1846 against Mexican authority, and became military commander and civil governor of California. For refusing to recognize Kearney's authority when the latter arrived in 1846, he was court-martialed and sentenced to dismissal from the army. President Polk,

Vols)¹⁸ had quartered there. Several of our officers and men went to town to take pleasure &c. I was too tired to go about. The Indians brought Corn, Bread, Liquor &c to camp for sale.

25. This day I was detailed for a mule guard. Mounted Guard at 8 A.M. Heard while on guard that the Dr. had pronounced the Mission unhealthy. Also that the officers of our Co's were trying to make some arrangements for Clothing &c. 200 of Col Fremont's Missouri Horsemen are now at San Gabriel about 8 M. distance. a 3 mule team left this morning for San Diego for Sugar, Coffee &c. I find things about 3 and 500 per cent dearer than in the U. S.¹⁹

26. Relieved from Guard at 8 A.M. No supper last night or breakfast this morning till 11 A.M. when we received 1 lb. coarse flour each, no sugar, coffee &c. and only 1¼ lbs. beef.

27. Today the Battalion was removed 1 mile up the River²⁰ to a pleasant camping ground, still in sight of town.

28. S. Preaching today by Br. Willey. The Dragoon under Lieut. Stoneman returned today having killed 4 Indians. The Indians had been committing depredations on the Spaniards and taking life.

29. This morning Cap Davis told his Co he had made some arrangements for some leather and wished to know who wished to get shoes. Drills commenced today at 4 o'clock P.M. We are now separate and apart from all other troops, encamp'd one mile from town and the Col. and Dragoons in Pueblo. Meeting this evening. Preaching by Elders G. P. Dykes, Canfield and others.

30. Visited today by the Col. Drills as usual. News of Money coming, which is good news to us being destitute of all clothing, having received only 1½ months pay since our

however, remitted the penalty. Frémont continued his exploring expeditions, became United States Senator from California, ran for the Presidency in 1856 and 1864, commanded in the Civil War, and served as governor of Arizona (1878-1881). (Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, II, 545-548. Smith, I, 131, 331-333, 335-338, 342, 345-346; II, 217-218.)

¹⁸ Not to be confused with Price's men.

¹⁹ It was not until May 30, 1848, that the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was officially concluded. Until then California was Mexican territory. (Smith, II, 251.)

²⁰ San Gabriel.

enlistment. Cap or Col Fremont²¹ arrived today from the North. News of the arrival of Col. Mase, Col of the 1st Reg of Dragoons. Cap Hunt preached this evening to the Battalion relating over the circumstances connected with Lieut. Smith's taking command of the Battalion and his (Cap Hunts) resignation to the same. Also the different Councils called on that occasion, endeavoring to show that he was not to be blamed and that the prejudice of the Battalion was ill-founded. Br. Levi Hancock & Adj. Merrill also made a few remarks. Dismissed.

31. Detailed for a camp guard, stood as camp guards no 7.
1847

April 1. Drill as usual. News from San Louis Ray of the death of David Smith who died at that place.

2. Drill. Washed my clothes today. I forgot to record that on the 28th day of January, Lieut. Holman while in conversation with him, that Levi Hancock's course with the brethren would have amounted to insurrection had he been left to pursue the same and had not been checked. We were on the advance guard at the time, or rather the Lieut. was with the Pioneers and I with the guard.

3. Drill.

4. S. This day was spent in camp until 4 P.M. when the Senior Cap (Hunt) called a dress parade. Many were the mistakes made by the Cap's awkwardness. Some 20 ladies from Ciudad de Los Angeles were present with their attendants. They came to visit Cap Davis' wife, and other Females in the Battalion. They were the most richly dress'd of any thing I have seen yet.

5. The wagons returned today from San Diego laden with Coffee, sugar, soap, candles &c. I have been quite unwell today. The brethren who came with these wagons tell us that David Smith was killed with calomel administered to him by Dr. Sanderson. He was speechless 2 days previous to his death. Col Mason arrived at the mouth of San Pedro river in a ship and a letter brought to Cap Hunt from Monterey.

²¹ On May 27, 1846, Frémont was promoted from a captaincy to a lieutenant-colonelcy. (Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, II, 546.)

6. Today a wagon was sent to the Sea Coast for loading from the ship.

7. Today I was detailed for a guard; stood guard over the cannon, two pieces being brought from San Gabriel Mission which had been in charge of Col Fremont's men their time being about out. Two wagons returned from San Pedro loaded with fine flour and clothing for the Regulars. We received some more fine flour this evening. A petition was got up in the Battalion, petitioning the officers of the Battalion or Commanders of Cos. for our discharge from the service of the U. S. believing the war to be at an end and our services no longer needed. Cap Davis, Lieuts. Pace, Lytle, & Thompson in favor of the same, and Cap Hunt, Lieut Clark Rosecrans Dykes &c. against it.

8. This morning the teams were sent for more cannon, to San Gabriel Mission, 7 pieces more brought. Drills.

9. Drill as usual.

10. Today Lieu Hulet²² became free from the service. Our Commanders are softening their hearts very fast, more willing to listen to our petition. No drill today.

11. S. Today several Spaniards came to visit the Battalion. Co. C. ordered to be ready for a march to the Calhoun²³ Pass, to guard the same.

12. Misty this morning, cleared off at noon. Co C. left for the mountains. Making one more division in our numbers. Sold some coffee in town for 37 cents per lb. in exchange for Salaratus at 50 cents. per lb.

13. Today the Brethren from San Louis under command of Lieu Holman came to be quartered with us.

14. 15. 16. Drills as usual.

17. Today Serjt. Browett came and told me there would be a meeting of the 70s. to morrow at 11 A. M., $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile from Camp. No drill today.

18. S. This morning I met with the 70s. as before appointed.²⁴ Singing and remarks by Pres. St. John on the evils

²² Sylvester Hulett.

²³ Cajon.

²⁴ The members of the various quorums of Seventies belonging to the Battalion stationed at Los Angeles, assembled about one mile from camp and organized into a mass quorum with Stephen M. St. John as senior president of the quorum." (Journal History.)

arising in the Battalion, to-wit: drunkenness, swearing and intercourse with the squaws &c. A vote taken to see if this body of 70s. were willing to unite to use their influence in putting down these vices &c. Carried unanimously. Pres. St. John voted in as Senior President of this Quorum and James Pace, Andrew Lytle, Daniel Browett,—Holmes, Frederic Farsney,—Willey, to be his Councillors, a Quorum being organized, some remarks were made by the Presidents, also by Elder Canfield on the impropriety of some in the camp &c. John Allens' case taken into consideration and he cut off from the Church. Adjourned sine die.

19. Some few more tents received left by the Fremont men.

20. Drill as usual. Various reports concerning Col Fremont and Col. Mason,²⁵ they not being very friendly &c.

21. Major Cloud returned from Monterey²⁶ with Gold for the Battalion, some talk of us receiving money soon. Drills yet kept up.

22. This morning a detail was made of 8 men from each Co. to go to relieve Co C.²⁷ The detail ordered to town to receive pay, each received 42 dollars. This evening Cap Hunt called a meeting and Elders Pettigrew & Hancock preached on the necessity of keeping ourselves from being polluted and remember our Covenants and told those who had sinned to sin no more. Some remarks by C. Hunt when we were dismissed.

23. This morning 2 Indians came into camp and stated that there was a Co. 600 miles from here which some think is Elder Wights Co.²⁸ They stated they were dressed in skins and that they had been there about 15 months. The Indians

²⁵ Colonel R. B. Mason, whom the Government had sent out to succeed Kearney upon his departure for the East in May, 1847. Mason proved to be "an excellent executive, able, experienced, sensible, strong and faithful." (Smith, II, 218.)

²⁶ It was not until 1770 that the Spaniards under Junipero Serra founded the mission Monterey. It was the second to be established in Alta California. From 1774 to 1825 Monterey was the capital of the Spanish province and continued in that capacity under Mexican rule. The capture of the town by Commodore Sloat on July 7, 1846, inaugurated the American occupation of California. (Powell, 622 ff.)

²⁷ Stationed at Cajon Pass. (Tyler, 278.)

²⁸ Elder Lyman Wight with a party had gone from Nauvoo to Texas.

where the Co. was were rich in mules, horses, &c. I went today to visit an old Spaniard from Spain who had some American papers, also some books from whom I learned a little more of the Spanish language.

23. Returned to camp and found the brethren packing up the Col. having sent word for us to move to another camping ground, as we were not altogether safe at this place as the Missouri Vols. had threatened to come down upon us. Moved to a beautiful green $\frac{1}{2}$ mile below town.

24. Today I was detailed as camp guard. Co. A received 6 months pay.

25. S. Co A moved into town to commence building a fort.

26. Last night we were called up and ordered to load and fix bayonets, as the Col had sent word that an attack might be expected from Col. Fremont's men before day. They have been using all possible means to prejudice the Spaniards and Indians against us by telling them we would take their wives &c. thereby rousing an excitement through the country. The Col hearing that they were intending to come sent us word. They did not come. Cos D & E. received pay today. I received \$26.50, the settlers having an a/c against me for \$15.60, as soon as we received our pay we were ordered to town. Camp'd on the hill where Co A was building the fort.

27. Detailed for a Guard. Reports say that the Mexicans have attacked Co C. and Lieu Pace's Command.

28. As soon as I was released from guard this morning I received orders to work on the ditch and assist in the building the fort. This is the closest place we have been in yet, to stand guard through the night and then to be obliged to work on the fort through the day 10 hours, parade at retreat with our accoutrements and do our own cooking, and especially as we can see no use of crowding business thus close. The fact is if our Battalion Officers who profess to be our brethren would act as fathers to us we could have easier times but they seek to please the Gentiles and to gain favor at our expense. Our officers will even find fault with us even in these times, for not having our guns in good bright condition when it was impossible for us to do in consequence of our being tented out and crowded 9 into a tent calculated at first

for only 6. Being compelled to leave our guns outside the tent or lay them on the ground in the night time. This evening Co. C. and Lieut Pace's Co of details came back to Pueblo, the reports we had of them being attacked were false.

29. Work'd in the ditch. 28 of the N. Y. Vols. came in from Santa Barbara²⁹ bringing us some cartridges, distance 120 miles from Pueblo de Los Angeles.

30. Work'd on the Fort. Father Pettigrew preached to the Battalion on drunkenness and drinking in general. Cap Hunt told us that Gen Kearney had notified Col Cook of the arrival of the N. Y. Vols. sutler with Col Stevenson having on hand a full assortment of clothing and also telling us that we could have them at a reduced price.

May 1. This morning while working in the ditch, the Adjutant came and informed me that I was detailed to assist in the bakehouse, as Government intended to issue bread instead of flour to the men. Work'd in the bakehouse in the afternoon.

2. For the last two days I have been more or less through the city of Angels or as it is in Spanish Cuidad de los Angeles, and must say they are the most degraded set of beings I ever was among, professing to be civilized and taught in the Roman Catholic religion. There are almost as many grog shops and gambling houses in this city as there are private houses. Only 5 or 6 stores and no mechanics shops. A tolerable sized Catholic church, built of unburnt brick and houses of the same material. Roofs made of reeds and pitched on the outside (tar springs close by or I may say pitch) Roofs flat. There are some 3 or 4 roofs built American fashion and covered with tiles burnt English fashion. The Spaniards in general own large farms in the country and keep from one to 20,000 head of

²⁹ The tenth Franciscan mission, founded in California, was formally dedicated on December 4, 1786, by Father Lasuen. Grain and stock raising were its most important industries. Difficulties with the Indians arose in 1801 as a result of an epidemic, which caused a temporary reversion to the old deities. The earthquake of 1812 damaged the church so seriously that a more substantial edifice was begun, and completed in 1820. In 1846 the mission was sold, but the principal buildings were retained by the church. (Hodge, II, 454-455.)

cattle. Horses in abundance, mules, sheep, goats &c. Also the Indians do all the labor and the Mexicans are generally on horse back from morning till night. They are perhaps the greatest horsemen in the known world, and very expert with the lance and lasso. They are in general a very idle, profligate, drunken, swearing set of wretches, with but very few exceptions. The Spaniards conduct in the Grog shops with the squaws is really filthy and disgusting even in the day time. Gambling is carried to the highest pitch, men often losing 500 dollars in cash in one night, or a 1000 head of cattle. All kinds of clothing is very cheap and cattle and horses very cheap. Horses from 5 to 25 dollars and the very best of mares from 1.50 to 10 dollars; mules equally cheap. Cattle from 5 to 6 dollars.

3. Baked all day.

4. The Burton Vols. returned today to Santa Barbara. An order was read giving all the privilege of enlisting in the Dragoons service and being discharged from the Battalion—a 5 years enlistment. The Col. can't quite come it.

5. 6 & 7. Worked in the bakehouse.³⁰

8. Today an express came in from Santa Fe and U. S. by way of Santa Fe bringing news of the Dragoons having had a battle with the Navaroos³¹ Indians, having fought 3 days. 28 of the Dragoons killed and quite a number of the Vols.

³⁰ "An order was read the same day [May 5], from General Kearney, appointing Colonel Stevenson, of the New York Volunteers, to the command of the southern district of California, thus relieving Colonel Cooke, that he might return to the United States with General Kearney. The Battalion brethren also learned that two companies of Stevenson's command were ordered to Los Angeles." (Journal History.)

³¹ Navajo, an important Athabascan tribe occupying a reservation in northeastern Arizona, northwestern New Mexico, and southeastern Utah, celebrated for the beauty and utility of their weaving art. Remarkable also has been their increase in recent years. In 1867 they were numbered as approximately 7300; in 1906, at 28,500. For a long period prior to the occupation of their territory by the United States they conducted an almost constant predatory war against the Pueblos and the white settlers of New Mexico. The United States Government experienced such great difficulty in subduing them that it finally was forced to employ "Kit" Carson to kill off such large numbers of their sheep as to bring them to terms. Women occupy a relatively high position in this tribe. (Hodge, II, 41-45.)

Gov. Bent of Santa Fe also killed. Some of the brethren received letters from Nauvoo, Council Bluffs, and other places.

9. Today Gen Kearney arrived ³² at Pueblo and a salute of 21 guns fired. Col Stevenson ³³ and others came with him, troops expected. The Gen came to the Mormon camp and gave those men with whom he conversed with good advice. Teams sent to San Pedro.³⁴

10. This morning learning that the Gen. was intending to inspect the Battalion, I went on the hill and being detailed to bake bread I did not have to appear on parade. After inspection the Gen caused them to be placed in close order and made some few remarks to the Battalion, thanking them for their good behavior &c. Also endeavoring to persuade the single men to re-enlist. Men detailed to go to the states with the general.

11. Nothing of note.

12. Today 120 N. Y. Vols. belonging to Col Stevenson's Regiment came in from Monterey. Wrote a letter to my wife and mother.

13. This morning Gen Kearney's detachment left to go to Monterey by land, leaving 2 or 3 to go with the Gen and Col Cook by shipping. Lieut. Thompson returned a few days since from the Mountains, his party having killed 6 Indians and two of his men wounded. Lieut. Pace ordered out with 26 men to go to the Mountains to protect the Spaniards, the Indians being troublesome again.

14. Lieut. Pace returned not having seen anything of the Indians. The remainder of Gen Kearney's detachment left today by water, the Gen and Col also. Br. Spencer our steward belonging to the detachment returned his horse having thrown him.

³² From Monterey. (Tyler, 281.)

³³ Colonel J. D. Stevenson came to California in March, 1847, with a regiment of New York volunteers under his command. It was expected that these men would remain as settlers at the close of the war. At first, as a result of their disorderliness and insubordination, they proved to be a source of considerable disturbance to the inhabitants, but under Mason's control they made themselves useful, and the Californians expressed genuine regret at their disbandment. (Smith, II, 219.)

³⁴ A town on San Pedro Bay, located about twenty-six miles south of Los Angeles. This bay, said to have been discovered by Vizcaino in 1602, is best known as the port of Los Angeles. (Bancroft, I, 99.)

15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. Nothing worth of note. Baked bread as usual.

21. Lieut. Stone of 1st Dragoons came in with his detachment of Dragoons (Regulars) from the Mountains. No news with him.

22. Baked bread.

23. The Battalion held a meeting, did not attend.

24. Today I left the bakehouse, and reported myself for duty in my Co. Found that while I had been in the bakehouse the brethren had been busily engaged in rigging up their bridles, saddles, purchasing horses &c.

25. Cap Davis returned from his trip into the country, having been to look at the ranches or farms &c. Gave an excellent account of the valleys he had visited.

26. 27 & 28. Work'd on the fort.

29. Today being off duty I cut up a raw hide for lariats or long halters and to rig up my new saddle. Brethren very busy every day buying horses and preparing to start home.

30. S. Remained in camp.

31. This morning I had a tooth pulled. News came of a battle³⁵ being fought with the Mexicans in the South.

1847

June 1. Detailed for guard.

2. Finished rigging saddle and went to town.

3. This day is a great day with the Roman Catholics here. Kept in commemoration of— The inhabitants of Pueblo have been sweeping the public square for 2 days past, and this morning they erected 4 stages, one in each corner of the square, also erecting an altar at each place, making it of green bushes, and decorated with roses, stripes of white cloth and very handsome (Sapaypas)³⁶ or a kind of outside covering thrown around the man while on horseback, were thrown on the ground. Service commenced in the Church at 10 A.M. Col. Stevenson ordered one piece of cannon to be brought into the square and one Co. N. Y. Vols. turned out to act as a guard

³⁵ Possibly Scott's victory at Cerro Gordo, on April 18, 1847. (Smith, II, 40-59.) News of Taylor's success at Buena Vista, on February 22 and 23, 1847, had probably already arrived.

³⁶ Serape.

during the day and to convince the Spaniards they should be protected in their rites and ceremonies as Roman Catholics. As soon as mass was performed in the church the Priest with a long retinue of attendants came out into the Square, the Priest performing certain rites at each of the altars. The band belonging to the N. Y. Vols playing while the procession was passing from corner to corner and the inhabitants showering roses all the time on the capital Priest's head and spreading costly garments on the ground for him to walk on. The cannon firing at intervals as the procession moved from place to place.

5. Today I purchased a 4 year old mare for 5.50, well broke.

6. S. The N. Y. Vols. and Mormon Vols have been killing dogs for the last 2 days with good success as the Spaniards keep a superabundance of these pests. By order of the Col and Alcalde ³⁷ horse racing today by the Spaniards, it is every Sunday. Today I rode out on my mare and took a wash in the river.

7. Monday. Detailed for a guard. Posted at the calaboose ³⁸ in town. While on post about dusk, one of the prisoners, an American, put on a squaw's clothes who had been permitted to bring refreshments to him, and passed out at the door. I immediately hailed him (or her) although I thought it to be some trick and soon found it to be. Dancing Bill he was called. I immediately ordered him back to the jail, at the point of the bayonet and requested the Corporal who had charge of the jail, to lock him in the other room, which was done but not without many threats and curses upon the Mormon. Cloudy and cool all day. Many horses purchased today.

8. Released from Guard this morning and spent the day procuring Saccate ³⁹ (or grass) for my mare, as we were obliged to tie all our animals up.

9. Worked in the ditch. Lieut. Thompson gave us a very large task and we told him we would not do it but rather

³⁷ A magistrate corresponding to a justice of the peace. Later he possessed the functions of a chief magistrate or mayor.

³⁸ A word derived from the Spanish calabozo, meaning dungeon.

³⁹ Saccato. A coarse perennial grass found in the southwestern part of the United States.

work the usual time. Sergt Chase told him it was too much when he said the Sergeant might give us our task; received the task and performed it by noon. Rode my mare out this afternoon and assisted Leonard to break his horse to carry grass.

1847

10th. *June.* Men detailed to go to San Pedro to guard military store. Hired an Indian to make me a Spanish halter.

11. This morning an express came in from Monterey. Some letters came from the brethren who went as a guard or escort for the General. Horses, mules, saddles, &c. much dearer at Monterey than at Pueblo. Advice given to us to fix all ourselves out at the Pueblo. The Gen left Monterey for Washington on the 31 of May. Orders read by the Sergeant Major, some from Col. Mason now Governor of California. One of the orders was relating to the case of John Allen, alias — who belonged to Co E of the Mormon Battalion and who had been in the calaboose some several weeks for desertion of his post as a picket guard. He did not belong to the Church. Was cut off by a Quorum of 70s. at this place for drunkenness, swearing and many other vices. He was baptized on our road to Santa Fe. Joined the Battalion at Fort Leavenworth and never was a Mormon, manifesting a very ungovernable spirit throughout the whole of the journey. His sentence is to have half of his hair shaved and to be drummed out of town.

12. This day Br John Spidle was thrown from his horse, very much hurt.

13. S. General inspection this morning by the Col. of arms, quarters, &c. &c. Went with Leonard to assist him to bring grass on his young mule. Went to water my mare with only a halter on and a Spanish woman scared my mare purposely and caused me to be thrown. Thereby hurting me some considerable. One of our mess returned from the ranch where several of our brethren were working for grain to be converted into flour for our use on our journey home. They are reported on detached service and we do their duty on the fort and elsewhere, some of them are digging a race to set a small mill agoing and others are cutting grain which is the principal work. The man for whom they are working is an American

of the name of Williams.⁴⁰ He has 1000⁴¹ of wheat to cut, He has been a resident of this part for many years, but farms it according to the Spanish custom. His principal crop is wheat, raising also barley, beans, peas &c. He has also a large vineyard for the manufacture of wine. He says he had before the war broke out something like 15,000⁴² head of cattle, the number of horses not known. As it is the custom in this country to keep immense herds of all domestic animals which are reared with little or no expense as they require neither feeding nor housing and are always sufficiently fattened for the slaughter houses. Cattle are from 1 to 5 dollars per head. Horses from 3 to 10 dollars per head. So numerous are the herds of cattle in this country that they are killed merely for the hides and tallow. Mr. Williams kills every summer a large number merely for the hides and tallow, leaving the meat to rot on the ground. Of late years Mr. Williams had made large quantities of soap by boiling the fattest of the beef so as to procure all the grease possible. He has a kettle 10 feet deep, the upper part of which is constructed of wood 10 feet also in diameter. This is filled with meat and left to simmer down when the grease is dipped into a box or bin 10 or 12 feet square and the meat thrown away. The grease is converted into soap by using a kind of earth instead of ashes or lye. The Indians do this work. One Spaniard is kept of the lower order whose business it is to drive up stock, horses, &c. when wanted, also to herd the stock.

14. Work'd on the fort. This afternoon G. [J.] Allen had half his head shaved and at retreat was drummed out of town, being marched between 4 sentinels in charge of a Corporal. Drummers and fifers in the rear. He was marched through town at the point of the bayonet and the musicians playing the Rogues March. Not allowed to return during the present war, and liable to be taken up and kept in irons till the close of the war.

15. Very much troubled with a cold, quite pthihicy [phthisicky]. Work'd on the ditch, did as little as possible. Br Howel

⁴⁰ Isaac Williams. See below his letter to Brigham Young.

⁴¹ Acres.

⁴² Tyler gives a more probable figure, 1500. (Tyler, 291.)

returned from Reed's ranch, did not bring me an animal, saw none to suit me. This evening heard an extract read from a Missouri Emigrant's ⁴³ Journal, one of whom suffered so much in the Mountains ⁴⁴ on their way to this country, having been caught in deep snows in the Mountains and forced to eat their animals and afterwards the hides also, many dying and some forced to eat the bodies of the dead. Much suffering experienced by them all.

16. Detailed for a guard and afterwards relieved. Many suffering from colds. No rain in this country. Heavy dews, very warm at noontimes and very cold nights especially for June. High winds generally from the North till night. Many horses purchased daily by the Battalion, all preparing to go home.

17. John Allen taken prisoner at the Ranchasee ⁴⁵ last night. Hard will be his fate. I was on guard today.

18. Relieved from guard. Weather fine, high sea breezes. The detail returned from the Mountains with the Liberty poles, 2 large pine logs the hauling of which cost 100 dollars. Each 10 ⁴⁶ feet long. Our time is now drawing nigh to a close. We are on the last month. An order was read to us last night from the Colonel, calling for Vols. for 6 months, none enlisted. They think that this place will be poorly guarded after we are gone. The N. Y. Vols. being very much discontented and but few in number, The fort is progressing very slow. They cannot in reason expect us to enlist again and especially when they know the treatment we have received, receiving no pay to go home and no ammunition to be given to us with our guns &c. and no pay for our back rations, although we have paid out much money on the road when our rations were kept back or in other words when the Col might have procured full rations at Govt. expense. But hard has been our fare as soldiers.

19. Detailed to work on the ditch till noon, mix mud.

⁴³ This was Captain Hasting's company of emigrants. (Tyler, 292.)

⁴⁴ Sierra Nevada. (*Ibid.*)

⁴⁵ Tyler spells ranchoree. This place was about a mile and a half from Los Angeles. (*Ibid.*)

⁴⁶ Tyler says fifty, a more probable figure. (*Ibid.*)

Afternoon given to us to wash our clothes &c. Not being very well I contented myself by reading in my tent &c. Some fears entertained by the fearful of our being pressed ⁴⁷ into service for another year. The Col very stingy. Officers generally very strict and seem to bear down upon the Battalion in particular.

20. S. This morning one of our mess relieved from guard told us of the escape of J. Allen from the calaboose by digging through the Adobe wall. Meeting held this evening by Father Pettigrew and Levi Hancock; some remarks by Lieut. Holman & others. The brethren truly rejoicing to think that the hour of redemption draweth nigh. (15th of July.)

21. Detailed for guards today. I put away 30 rounds of ball and buckshot cartridges for use going home.

22. Relieved once more from guard.

23. Today I am free from the detail on the fort quite unexpected. Some of the men very busy erecting a liberty pole in the fort. Col Stevenson now on his way to San Diego to visit Co B at that post. On account of some rumours some fear is entertained for his safety.

24. Saint John's day.⁴⁸—The Spaniards take some little notice of this day. No work done in the Pueblo. Quite a holiday even for the Indians Horse racing, bull fighting, gambling &c &c are the chief amusements today and I must say that the Spaniards in California are the greatest horsemen I ever heard of. For a Californian to ride 100 miles a day is quite common, nor does it appear to require any extraordinary effort. One hundred miles a day are as frequently driven by them as 50 are by the people in the U. S., in truth with them it is but an ordinary days ride, but which is generally performed by 2 or 3 horses. Their great exploits with the lasso in catching wild horses and cattle are astonishing. The lasso is a very strong rope usually made of raw hide and is about sixty feet in length. At one end of which there is a noose, which is thrown upon the neck of the horse or horns of the cattle, while the other end is firmly attached to the

⁴⁷ Under existing regulations the men could have been pressed into service, if deemed necessary, for a six-month period. (Tyler, 293.)

⁴⁸ Tyler says the twenty-seventh, not the twenty-fourth. (Tyler 293.)

pommel of the saddle. They will when on full gallop stoop and pick up a lasso from off the ground or even a piece of money without either halting or dismounting. They never walk even the shortest distance. They are never on foot only when entering a house at which time they will take a lasso made of hair, one end of which is fastened to the neck of the horse and the other end held by them. Those who keep large ranches always keep 2 or 3 horses up for the purpose of riding to catch others with the lasso, as no other way can be adopted for catching these animals. One of their herdsmen being sent for fresh animals and having approached within 20 or 30 yards of the designated steed, he throws with surprising accuracy the lasso around his neck, and thus he is noosed and secured. It is astonishing to see with what skill the horse, which leads a herd will single out mares belonging to another herd. Wild horses are mounted and ridden by the Mexicans without the least fear. Although it is not infrequent to see them tie a rope around their knees and around the horse's body.

I saw a game played by these Spaniards, A Cock (or as the Yankees say a Rooster) was buried in the sand save his head only. The Spaniards rode by in turns on a full gallop trying at the same time to pick up the cock, several being successful and none falling from the horse, These horses are much better trained for the saddle than ours. They endure fatigue much better than the American horses.

25. Detailed for a guard and march'd to the calaboose for 24 hours.

26. Detailed to work on the ditch.

27. Relieved from guard at 8 A.M. Spent the day in my tent receiving instructions in the Spanish language. Our officers are becoming more and more like men, giving us as many privileges as they can conveniently. They have not been more than half as strict for a few days past. In fact they seem to realize that their power as military commanders will soon be gone and that their influence will go too. In as much as they know that there are men in this battalion who stand as high and much higher in the Priesthood,⁴⁹ therefore it seems

⁴⁹ "The priesthood is of two orders: the Aaronic (charged with secular affairs) and the Melchisedec (charged with spiritual affairs)."

as though they wished to restore that confidence in some measure which they well know has departed during the last 12 months. Brs. A Lytle & J. Pace are appointed to lead back the Co to the church, being the only two who have at all times had respect unto the Priesthood of the Son of God, and acted as Fathers to the brethren who were placed under them for 12 months. Brs. Averett & St. John returned today from San Diego giving a favorable account of Co E of this Battalion. They have no fort to build and have been privileged to work for the citizens for pay when off duty.

28. Today I was detailed to assist in building an oven in the city. Col Stevenson returned today from San Diego, accompanied by Cap Alexander, 24 of the brethren at that post had given their names to enlist again for 6 months on conditions.

29. This morning orders came for all to remain in camp as the assembly would be beat at 8½ A.M. At the time appointed the Battalion assembled under arms and the Col. addressed the Battalion on the necessity of keeping troops here till more could be transported from the U. S., endeavoring to persuade the Battalion or at least one company to enlist for another year. He said he had in his possession documents authorizing him to make an effort to raise one or more companies or if possible the whole Battalion. He also spoke of the necessity of our returning to meet our families in the Mountains who we had good reasons to believe now needed our assistance, but still thought single men might enlist again. He also promised us in case the Battalion should enlist again that we should be privileged to elect our own Lieut.-Col. and less than the Battalion only our own Major and all others below with the promise of having pay at Monterey, Bear River Valley⁵⁰ or any other destined place in California when discharged. We were also promised to be discharged in Feb. next with one year's pay. A promise also made us of a detachment

The latter is the higher and may overrule the former. Every worthy adult member has a place in one or the other of these orders." (Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia, VIII, 18.)

⁵⁰The valley drained by the Bear River, which rises in Nevada county, California, and flows in a southwesterly direction for about fifty-five miles until it mingles with the Sacramento River.

being sent to meet our people and carry any means we saw fit to send to our families. After many remarks praising us for our good behaviour &c. &c. we were dismissed into the hands of our officers to meet at a place appointed by Cap Hunt and take into consideration the subject of re-enlisting. 10 o'clock A.M. Met as appointed $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile from camp on the barren points west. Cap. Hunter commenced by saying that he supposed he was looked upon by the Brethren as a recruiting officer &c. and then stated that he believed it to be the duty of the Battalion to enlist for another term, giving several reasons for this believing. He was next followed by Cap. Hunt in the same strain of conversation, also stating that he believed with Cap. Hunter in this thing. Cap. Hunt endeavored to show the advantages we had gained in point of power during the past year's service in the U.S. He also urged the necessity of maintaining the ground we had gained, in as much as an opportunity now presented itself for our still obtaining more power by having a Mormon 3rd in Command in the Territory of California, and the probability of Col. Mason and Col. Stevenson being removed. In which case our Mormon commander would rise still higher. After many other remarks like unto those above he gave way and was followed by Cap. Davis giving his assent to all that had been said. Lieu. Canfield next rose and said it would be the best thing we could do to re-inlist as our means were small and likely to be expended in reaching our families, endeavoring to show our situation on reaching the place of destination with so little means of subsistence. He also spoke of faith and said that some talked as though they could go into the Mountains and live on faith but for his part he believed different, having spent the most of the past year in the Mountains and really believed that had it not been for the little food furnished by the U.S. we would have starved to death, with all our faith. And although he had not yet decided in his mind whether to re-enlist or not he believed it would be best for some to do. Some little more was said by him when he gave way. Lieut. G. P. Dykes next spoke, sanctioning all that had been said, and also said we should remember the case of the good cow, who after having given a good pail of milk kicked the whole

over. Hoping that this would not be the case now. Father Pettigrew next made a few remarks in the course of the meeting, believing it to be our duty to return, having accomplished all we were sent to do. The meeting then adjourned to a large tent in camp owing to the heat of the sun. This is certainly a very important crisis in the history of the travels of this Battalion of Latter Day Saints, every one left to be led or walk by faith and the light of the Spirit. None privileged to step forth and counsel us and our officers who were given to us for fathers during our service, all seem to have run into many vices, save some. About 12 o'clock we met in the tent. Some few spoke when it was agreed to appoint a committee to draft an article of writing, stating the terms on which men would enlist. Cap. Hunter, Cap. Davis and Father Pettigrew chosen for that committee. As soon as the writing was completed we were again called together and the articles of agreement read. When several short speeches were made, some believing our mission ended on the 16th of next month and others the reverse. Among the speakers was Sergeant Hyde of Co B, who spoke to the point of returning and urged the necessity of it in order to make another offering in as much as our offering for the past year had been acceptable and all as far as we had any knowledge or information were satisfied and he believed that God was satisfied. Sergeant Tyler also made some good remarks on the same. Father Pettigrew seemed to feel warm on the subject and brought up the case of Prophets of the Lord before acting any further. His remarks were in my opinion truly applicable. Sergeant Major Ferguson, Caps Hunt, Hunter and others spoke in favor of re-enlisting, frequently referring to the last interview or secret council of the 12. with the officers, endeavoring to show that it was the 12s. wish. Cap. Hunter said it had been hinted that there was a prophet somewhere in the camp, he believed among the privates; if so, he wished he would come forth and give us the word of the Lord on the subject. Lieut. Canfield again spoke, still holding the same views as in the forenoon, respecting our suffering and poverty. If still determined to return. He alluded to Father Pettigrew's remarks and said that the lowing and bleatings of the herds in Saul's time made him think of our poor

animals on our arrival at Bear Valley and that the 12 would be rather led to inquire why those men and animals had come there, than why they had enlisted again. Br. Levi spoke from the door of the tent, said he had never influenced the men against the officers either publicly or privately (some remarks had been made by Cap Hunter believing that some one had been trying to set the men at variance with the officers) Lieut Lytle also spoke, denying ever using an influence against the officers. Meeting dispersed, 15 or 16 names being obtained for re-enlisting, news taken to the Col. stating the terms &c. which was rejected. G. P. Dykes in the forenoon referred to those who had suffered in the Mountains (Missouri Emigrants, Persecutors of the Saints of God) in removing to this country, urging the necessity of staying here instead of returning to the Mountains and passing through an ordeal like unto theirs &c. &c.

30. General inspection at 10 A.M. No work on the fort.

July 1. Detailed for a guard. The Liberty Pole raised today without any accident. At midnight took a Lieut. and private prisoners.

2. This day I purchased a 4 year old horse, a roan, for 7.00. Well broke.

3. Gen Police today preparing for the celebration of Independence.

4. Independence. This day was celebrated by the troops at Pueblo de Los Angeles. The ceremonies of the day was as follows: The whole command under Col. Stevenson were paraded within the fort at Sunrise. Tune by the N. Y. Band, Star Spangled Banner, while the colors were being raised and after they were raised nine cheers were given by the soldiery. Tune, Hail Columbia. Federal salute of 13 guns fired by the 1st Dragoons. The Cos. were then march'd back to their quarters. At 11 A.M. the command were again called out under arms. Regimental Band &c. &c. Paraded within the fort and many of the Spaniards and Indians present also. Ceremonies conducted again by reading the Declaration of Independence by Lieut. Stoneman of 1st Dragoons. Tune, Hail Columbia, by the N. Y. Band. A short address by Col. Stevenson and the name of Fort Moore given to the fort at Ciudad de Los An-

geles Band, Yankee Doodle, Patriotic song by Levi Hancock of the Mormon Battalion. Tune, A March by the band. An offer made to the Spaniards to have the Declaration &c. read in their own language, if desired; not read. Wine was then passed round to the soldiery and then march'd to their quarters.

July 1847.

This evening I took a walk through the Gardens and Vineyards of Pueblo. Pueblo de Los Angeles or City of the Angels is situated near latitude 33 degrees N. a few miles from the Coast. It contains a population of about 5000—chiefly Mexicans and Indians. There are but few foreigners at this place. It contains about 1000 buildings, which are small and otherwise inferior, the walls of which are generally constructed of adobes (sun dried brick) and the roofs chiefly of tar or pitch and leaves. They are but one story high, roofs flat.

5. This morning an invitation was given to the Battalion to attend the funeral procession of one of the Regulars who died last evening at the hospital. Orders given to appear on parade with our side arms at 10 ½ A.M. The procession left the Regular's quarters for the burying ground belonging to the Romish Church, it being the wish of the deceased to be buried there as he was a Roman Catholic. 1 Platoon of Regulars walked in front. The Corpse was next carried by some Regulars. The Horse used by the deceased in the service next, covered with black velvet, carrying all the uniform of the deceased, arms, sabre, valise, &c. his boots being put into the stirrup the reverse of the common way. Then followed the rest of the Dragoons, Regimental band of the N. Y. Vol. N. Y. Vol. Companies, Mormon Battalion and the staff and in the rear a great many of the citizens also went to the funeral. The band played slow marches going and the Platoon of Drag's fired 3 times over his grave. March'd to quarters at a quick pace. One thing I noticed in this burial ground which was the small number of graves and especially of fresh graves, compared to one of the eastern grave yards in a place of like population. This is owing to the climate being so pure and the country almost entirely free from all febrile diseases.

6. Some men killed in fights which took place yesterday and on the fourth. No work today. Brethren busy preparing for a start.

7. One of the Drag's a N. Y. Vol. and one of Fremont's men were taken up on suspicion of being concerned in a murder on the 4th or 5th.

8. Detailed for guard, stationed at the Liberty Pole. Paymaster arrived at San Pedro.

9. Relieved from guard. No work on the fort these days.

10. Last night the Town of Pueblo was illuminated, it being some grand festival of the Spanish Roman Catholics. And today the Spaniards commenced a bull fight. Last night we lay on our arms, cannons loaded &c. on account of some rumours afloat. The Col. and others were invited to a ball at this festival and it was rumored that the Spaniards had taken this as the best opportunity to retake Pueblo. Some more brass pieces brought in from San Pedro. Some of the Indians or lower order of Mexicans, who officiate in the Romish church, walk'd this morning through town having a tenor and a bass drum, 2 violins, 2 flutes &c. playing at the principal houses in the city. In the public square they had erected or made a large corral (or vast arena) in the form of an amphitheater, which is circumscribed by a post and rail fence around the exterior of which are successive circular seats rising one above another, to the height of twenty or thirty feet and of sufficient extent to accommodate many people. Timely notice having been given by preparing during the past week has caused a universal attendance at this scene of cruelty savoring so strongly of barbarity, cruelty and indolence. General Peko ⁵¹ the late commander in this was, and all the principal officers in the Spanish service are here, together with the Priests, mingled with these semi-barbarians. The Gen himself going in on horseback several times and fighting the bull with a short spear. Several bulls fought during the day; one horse gored by the bulls.

11. S. Bull fighting commenced again today in good earnest. Quite dangerous to be in town. Some horses gored by the bulls in the combat. 2 men considerably hurt and Cap Davis'

⁵¹ Pio Pico. Governor of California at the time of the American invasion. He was a poorly educated farmer, with decidedly pro-British and anti-American sympathies. (Smith, I, 319, 328, 329, 333, 335, 337, 530, 531.)

little boy thrown about 20 feet by a bull although not much hurt. The bull broke out of the enclosures and fight continued till late in the evening. Gen Peko took quite an active part today. He was very richly attired as was also many others.

12. The fight continued. Broke up today.

13. Detailed for a guard.

14. Nothing worth of note. Much preparation for traveling.

15. Today is the last day in the service of the U.S. Much rejoicing among the brethren. Co. B. returned from San Diego. Came here to be discharged and paid off.

16. Today no roll call. No guard mounts and at 3 P.M. Cap Smith of Co C 1st Drag's mustered us out of service.⁵² Cap. Davis marched Co E. after being mustered out, into Pueblo, under arms and gave the men as much wine &c as they could wish. He then delivered us into the hands of Lieut. Pace, 1st Lieut. to march us back to quarters, there to be discharged. Some remarks by Cap. Davis, Lieut. Pace, Lytle, Levi Hancock & Father Pettigrew when 3 cheers were given, and many left with the animals they had purchased for a camping ground 3 miles up the San Pedro River.

17. Some of the brethren received their pay for the remainder of the year.

18. Today Cos. E & C received their pay. I went to Cap. Smith of Co. C. 1st Drag's for pay for services rendered in the Gov. bakehouse, he being Treasurer of the same. The Cap was very much out of humor and swore considerable, but I was not going to be scared from the quarters. He finally asked what corps I belonged to. I told him, he then said he could not pay me without an order from the Colonel, he thinking, as I suppose, that I would not take the trouble to go

⁵² "At 3 o'clock P. M. the five companies of the Battalion were formed according to the letter of the company, with A in front and E in the rear, leaving a few feet and space between. the notorious [notorious] Lieutenant A. J. Smith then marched down between the lines in one direction and back between the next lines, then in a low tone of voice said: 'You are discharged.' This was all there was of the ceremony of mustering out of service this veteran corps of living martyrs to the cause of their country and religion. None of the men regretted the Lieutenant's brevity; in fact, it rather pleased them." (Azariah Smith Journal. Journal History.)

especially as the Mormons were not liked &c. I went to the Col and he signed the a/c ordering Cap. Smith to pay the same. After much running I let the sutler have the order for goods.

19. Early this morning I packed up and removed to the Camp of the Saints, 3 miles from Pueblo, a place appointed for rendezvous on San Pedro River. At 10 A.M. I returned to town and purchased a mule for 20 dollars, well broke to the saddle and harness. Animals are rising in value very fast as the Battalion has purchased a great many. I could have purchased wild animals for $\frac{1}{2}$ the money but did not feel like breaking them. The brethren purchased a beef for 6.00 and dealt it out to the Cos. of 10s.

20. This morning the Cap's of 50s. and 10s.⁵³ were nominated by Levi Hancock, Cap'n Lytle and Pace elected by the Brethren and an organization effected according to the pattern left us for travelling purposes, also military, by our Prophet *Joseph*. 2 P.M. I went to town and purchased some flour.

21. This morning I went to town again & purchased more flour and salt. Returned to camp and sifted my flour. Cap. Averett's 10 left today for San Francisco's Rancho as Cap of the Pioneers. Brigham having appointed him as Pioneer, and Br Levi at this time appointed him again.

22. Brethren coming in all day with flour from different places. Several started today for Monterey. The Co of Vols made up of our Battalion are received for one year. I cannot have much hopes of their doing well for the year.

23. This morning the 3rd. Fifty made a start for home commanded by Cap. Frederick Alred.⁵⁴ I left in Cap T. C. D. Howel's 10. Travelled 20 miles to a rancho belonging to Gen Peko⁵⁵ and encamp'd. This Rancho or farm seems to be the remains of an old Mission, several houses here covered with the old-fashioned English tile. Here are 2 large gardens and vineyards. One of these, I should think contained 200

⁵³ "... the majority of those who did not reenlist were organized into companies for traveling, after the ancient and modern Israelitish custom, with captains of hundreds, fifties and tens. . . ." (Tyler, 305.)

⁵⁴ Allred.

⁵⁵ Pico.

acres. No grain raised in these enclosures but plenty of fruit such as grapes, figs, pears, apricots, cherries, plums, peaches, apples, and likewise the black pepper, olive, date, palm tree and various others too numerous to mention. I did not hear of any accident with the wild animals today. I stood guard this night.

1850. Nov. 20. I am rebaptized at Brigham City by Elder John Lewis and confirmed by Elders Alvin Nicols and ——— Box.

Jan. 10th This day I consecrated all I possessed to the Church of Jesus Christ of L.D.S., amounting to about 600 dollars.

GENERAL EPISTLE ¹
from the
COUNCIL OF THE
TWELVE APOSTLES,
to the
CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST
of
LATTER DAY SAINTS
Abroad, Dispersed throughout the Earth,

GREETING:

BELoved BRETHREN:—

At no period since the organization of the Church on the 6th of April, 1830, have the Saints been so extensively scattered, and their means of receiving information from the proper source, so limited, as since their expulsion from Illinois; and the time has now arrived when it will be profitable for you to receive, by our Epistle, such information and instruction as the Father hath in store, and which he has made manifest by his Spirit.

Knowing the designs of our enemies, we left Nauvoo in February, 1846, with a large pioneer company, for the purpose of finding a place where the Saints might

¹ Journal History. Issued at Winter Quarters in November or December, 1847.

gather and dwell in peace. The season was very unfavorable, and the repeated and excessive rains, and scarcity of provision, retarded our progress, and compelled us to leave a portion of the camp in the wilderness, at a place we called Garden Grove, composed of an enclosure for an extensive farm and sixteen houses, the fruits of our labor; and soon after, from similar causes, we located another place, called Mount Pisgah, leaving another portion of the camp, and after searching the route, making the road, and bridges, over a multitude of streams, for more than three hundred miles, mostly on lands then occupied by the Pottawatamie Indians, and since vacated in favor of the United States, lying on the south and west and included within the boundary of Iowa, we arrived near Council Bluffs, on the Missouri River, during the latter part of June, where we were met by Capt. J. Allen, from Fort Leavenworth, soliciting us to enlist five hundred men in the service of the United States. To this call of our country, we promptly responded, and before the middle of July more than five hundred of the Brethren were embodied in the "Mormon Battalion," and on their march for California, by way of Fort Leavenworth, under command of Lieut. Col. J. Allen, leaving hundreds of wagons, teams, and families, destitute of protectors and guardians, on the open prairie, in a savage country, far from the abodes of civilized life, and farther still from any place where they might hope to locate.

Our camp, although aware of a cold northern winter approaching with all attendant evils, famine, risk of life in an unhealthy climate, Indian depredations, and

every thing of a like nature that would tend to make life gloomy, responded to this call of the President with all the alacrity that is due from children to a parent; and when the strength of our camp had taken its departure in the battalion, the aged, the infirm, the widow and the fatherless that remained, full of hope and buoyant with faith, determined to prosecute their journey, a small portion [led by Bishop George Miller] of which went as far west as the Pawnee Mission, where, finding it too late to pass the mountains, they turned aside to winter on the banks of the Missouri, at the mouth of the Running Water, about two hundred and fifty miles northwest of the Missouri settlements; while the far more extensive and feeble numbers located at this place, called by us Winter Quarters² where upwards of seven hundred houses were built in the short space of about three months; while the great majority located on Pottawatamie lands. In July there were more than two thousand emigrating wagons between this and Nauvoo.

In September, 1846, an infuriated mob, clad in all the horrors of war, fell on the Saints who had still remained in Nauvoo for want of means to remove, murdered some, and drove the remainder across the Mississippi into Iowa; where destitute of houses, tents, food, clothing, or money, they received temporary assistance from some benevolent souls in Quincy, St. Louis, and other places, whose names will ever be remembered with gratitude. But at that period the Saints were obliged to scatter to the north, south,

² Winter Quarters, on west bank of the Missouri, a few miles north of Omaha.

east, and west, wherever they could find shelter and procure employment. And, hard as it is to write it—it must ever remain a truth on the page of history—that while the flower of Israel's camp were sustaining the wings of the American eagle, by their influence and arms in a foreign country, their brothers, sisters, fathers, mothers, and children, were driven by mob violence from a free and independent State of the same national Republic, and were compelled to flee from the fire, the sword, the musket, and the cannon's mouth, as from the demon of death. From that time to this the Latter Day Saints have been roaming without home from Canada to New Orleans, from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, and many have taken up their abode in foreign lands. Their property in Hancock County, Illinois, was little or no better than confiscated; many of their houses were burned by the mob, and they were obliged to leave most of those that remained without sale; and those who bargained, sold almost for a song; for the influence of their enemies was to cause such a diminution in the value of property, that from a handsome estate was seldom realized enough to remove the family comfortably away; and thousands have since been wandering to and fro, destitute, afflicted, and distressed for the common necessities of life, or, unable to endure, have sickened and died by hundreds, while the Temple of the Lord is left solitary in the midst of our enemies an enduring monument of the diligence and integrity of the Saints.

Lieut. Col. Allen died at Fort Leavenworth, much lamented by the "Mormon Battalion," who proceeded en route by way of Santa Fe, from whence a small

portion, who were sick, returned to Pueblo to winter; while the remainder continued their march, mostly on half rations, or meat without salt, making new roads, digging deep wells in the desert, levelling mountains, performing severe labors and undergoing the utmost fatigue and hardship ever endured by infantry, as reported by Col. Cooke, their commanding officer, and arrived in California, in the neighborhood of San Diego, with the loss of very few men.

Soon after the battalion left the Bluffs, three of our Council took their departure for England,³ where they spent the winter, preaching and setting in order all things pertaining to the Church, and returned to this place in the spring of 1847, as did also the camp from Running Water for provisions.

On April 14th, the remainder of the Council, in company of one hundred and forty-three pioneers, left this place in search of a location, and making a new road, a majority of more than one thousand miles westward, arrived at the Great Basin in the latter part of July [22 and 24]; where we found a beautiful valley of some twenty by thirty miles in extent, with a lofty range of mountains on the east, capped with perpetual snow, and a beautiful line of mountains on the west, watered with daily showers; the Utah Lake on the south, hid by a range of hills, with a delightful prospect of the beautiful waters of the Great Salt Lake on the northwest, extending as far as the eye can reach, interspersed with lofty islands, and a continuation of the valley, or opening on the north,

³Elders Orson Hyde, Parley P. Pratt, and John Taylor. They departed July 31, 1846. (Historical Record, August, 1889, 889.)

extending along the eastern shore about sixty miles to the mouth of Bear River. The soil of the valley appeared good, but will require irrigation to promote vegetation, though there are many small streams emptying in from the mountains, and the Western Jordan, (Utah Outlet,) passed through from south to north. The climate is warm, dry, and healthy; good salt abounds at the lake; warm, hot, and cold springs are common; mill sites excellent; but the valley is destitute of timber. The box, the fir, the pine, the sugar maple, &c., may be found on the mountains sufficient for immediate consumption, or until more can grow.

In this valley we located a site for a city, to be called the Great Salt Lake City, of the Great Basin, North America; and for the convenience of the Saints, instituted and located the Great Basin Post Office at this point. The city is surveyed in blocks of ten acres, eight lots to a block; with streets eight rods wide, crossing at right angles. One block is reserved for a Temple, and several more in different parts of the city for public grounds.

Soon after our arrival in the valley, we were joined by that portion of the battalion, who had been stationed at Pueblo, and a small camp of the Saints from Mississippi, who had wintered at the same place, who united with the pioneers in ploughing, planting, and sowing near one hundred acres, with a great variety of seeds; and in laying the foundation of a row of houses around a ten acre block, and nearly completing the same on one side. Materials for brick and stone buildings are abundant.

After tarrying four or five weeks, most of the pio-



From the "History of Utah" by Orson F. Whitney, 1892

GREAT SALT LAKE CITY IN 1853

neers commenced their return, nearly destitute of provision, accompanied by a part of the battalion, who were quite destitute, except a very small quantity of beef, which was soon exhausted. The company had to depend for their subsistence on wild beasts, such as buffalo, deer, antelope, &c., which, most of the way, were very scarce; and many obtained, were exceedingly poor and unwholesome. Between the Green and Sweet-water Rivers, we met five hundred and sixty-six wagons of the emigrating Saints, on their way to the valley; at our last encampment with whom, we had fifty horses and mules stolen by the Indians; and a few days after, we were attacked by a large war party of Sioux, who drove off many of our horses, but most of these we recovered. Our route was by Fort Bridger, the South Pass, Fort John, (Laramie,) and from thence on the north bank of the Platte, to Winter Quarters, where we arrived on the 31st of October, all well; having performed this long and tedious journey, with ox as well as horse teams, and with little food except wild flesh, without losing a single man, although many were sick when they left in the spring, insomuch that they were unable to walk until we had travelled more than one half of the outward distance.

WHY THE MORMONS DID NOT GO TO CALI-
FORNIA. BRIGHAM YOUNG'S SPEECH
TO THE MORMON BATTALION
ON OCTOBER 1, 1848 ¹

. . . If we were to go to San Francisco and dig up chunks of gold, or find it here in the valley it would ruin us. Many wanted to unite Babylon and Zion; it's the love of money that hurts them. If we find gold and silver we are in bondage directly. To talk of going away from this valley we are in for anything is like vinegar to my eyes. They that love the world have not their affections placed upon the Lord.

¹ Doc. Hist., 1848, 67.

THE BLESSINGS DERIVED FROM "THE EN-
LISTMENT OF THE MORMON BAT-
TALION IN THE SERVICE OF
THE UNITED STATES"¹

APRIL 5, 1848.

. . . I was glad, however, to find from your letter that your family were well, and had "desire to go west." As to Henry, I learn that he was one of those who re-enlisted for 6 months to support a station in California, but his time is out before this and I presume he is now on his road for the valley of our destination. The enlistment of the Mormon Battalion in the service of the United States though looked upon by many with astonishment and some with fear, has proved a great blessing to this community. It was indeed the temporal salvation of our camp, and although it has been attended with perils and privation, still this has more or less been the lot of us all, and it has proved a weapon of our defence, a blockade in the way of our worst enemies under which the widows, the poor and the destitute, and in fact all of this people, have been sheltered. The unseen hand of Jehovah is over this people for good, and in this thing we were enabled to outwit our enemies and the snare they laid for our feet became our anchor of safety for a season, for which we thank the Lord. . . .

BRIGHAM YOUNG.

¹ Journal History.

MR. A. LATHROP TO PRESIDENT BRIGHAM
YOUNG ¹

MAY 18, 1848.

Having an opportunity of sending a line to you, I will avail myself of the opportunity to let you know the situation of things in California, as I have just returned from there and brought letters from there which I suppose will be forwarded to you. Some of the letters were directed to Captain Hunt, as he was with us, and Governor Mason and others was acquainted with him and not with the rest of the company. I suppose that (Orrin) Porter Rockwell has other letters of later date and on more liberal terms, for after the letters that I brought came into my hands he sent two men to come through until they met you, but we told them that it was uncertain and there was a chance for them to have their journey for nothing. Consequently, they did not come, but wrote. Everything was all peace when I was there, the officers in California were anxious to return to the States, as their families resided there. I write these few lines to let you know in short the situation of affairs in California. The country is good and the influence that the Battalion gained in California, is surely great. For a Mormon is respected let him go where he will in

¹ Journal History.

that country. I purchased, in company with E. H. Fuller and Porter Rockwell two hundred head of cows for the council here, most of them on a credit of twelve months. We also brought some fruit cuttings of different kinds and some small grains.

RE-ENLISTMENT

CAPTAIN JEFFERSON HUNT TO PRESIDENT BRIGHAM
YOUNG ¹

Head Quarters, Mormon Battalion
Camp by "the town of the
Angels," May 14, 1847.

TO PRES. BRIGHAM YOUNG,

Dear Brother: I embrace the present opportunity of sending you a few lines to let you know a little of the movements of the battalion. I have seen Gen. Kearny; he has seen the battalion and has given them a very excellent character. I have had a good deal of conversation with him in regard to the future disposal of the battalion. We are now about 500 miles south of Monterey. He told me that it was altogether probable we should stay here till our time expires and then be discharged. He manifested a great anxiety to have the battalion mustered for another year, or, at least, the young men of it. All the men are against it.

Since we started, all the officers, with one or two exceptions, have been well united; nor would there have been anything but union amongst us, had not a few unquiet spirits stirred up mal-contentment and dissention through the battalion of course aiming their weightiest blows at me. This has caused me much

¹ Journal History.

anxiety and trouble. I have all the time done the best I knew, and used every endeavor to console the men and make the burdens laid on them by the officers of the regular army as light as I could, but every good intention was construed into evil, and of all characters I was the most vile.

As to the history of our march, Brother Willey who will be one of an escort of thirteen men, to go with General Kearny to the states, can give it you in detail.

An excitement has lately been got up in the battalion in regard to the terms of our discharge. A number state that they heard Col. Allen say that, at our discharge, we should not only get our equippage as a present, but we should be paid for the time it might take for us to go back, as other troops are. The letter with instructions from Gen. Kearny to Col. Allen was produced; nothing to that effect was contained therein. It said we should be discharged in California and have our arms, etc., given to us as a present. How glad I should be to have instructions from you soon, how to proceed with matters.

When we got into this country, we found that Fremont in connection with our old Missouri friends had been giving the Californians a character of the Mormons. They told them we were barbarous robbers and not Americans. The inhabitants, however, are joyfully disappointed. They find that we are a much superior race to the "Americans."² Everywhere we have been we have left a good impression upon the minds of the

²Some of the Indians of the Southwest still make a distinction between "Americans" and "Mormons."

people. I hope it may continue. Not only this, but when anything of importance has to be done the government officers seem to give our battalion the preference. Our fame is spreading far and near.

Col. Cooke will accompany the General. Col. Stevenson of the New York Volunteers, will succeed him in command of the district and post, and I in command of the battalion. Two companies of the New York regiment are stationed here with us. They don't seem to be liked much. Many of them have deserted since they came to the country.

We are in perfect suspense here. In two months we look for a discharge and know not whither to steer our course. We have a very good offer to purchase a large valley, sufficient to support 50,000 families, connected with other excellent country, which might be obtained. The rancho connected with the valley is about thirty miles from this place, and about twenty miles from a good ship landing. We may have the land and stock consisting of eight thousand head of cattle, the increase of which was three thousand last year and an immense quantity of horses, by paying 500 dollars down, and taking our own time to pay the remainder, if we had only the privilege to buy it. There are excellent water privileges on it.

Give our respects to your quorum and all friends. Wishing you every comfort in life, I remain

Your obedient servant and brother,

JEFFERSON HUNT,
PHILEMON C. MERRILL,
D. C. DAVIS,
LORENZO CLARK.

COLONEL J. D. STEVENSON TO CAPTAIN JEFFERSON
HUNT OF THE MORMON BATTALION ³

Cuied de Los Angeles, 22 July, 1847

My dear Sir: I take great pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of your communication of this morning, by the hands of the late Sergeant Major of the Mormon Battalion. I certainly thank you and the officers of the Battalion for the kind expressions of friendship and regard, they entertain for me, as conveyed in your communication; it is my desire, as well as my nature, to be kind to all with whom I associate, and more especially with those who by a correct course of conduct and a strict performance of the duties required of them, merit the approbation of their commanding officer, such I am happy to say has been the course of yourself and officers, without a single exception since I have had the honor to command them; and I should have been unjust to them, and wanting in manly feeling, had my conduct to you all been other than you had represented. I beg you and your officers to be assured that the kind feelings of friendship and regard you have all expressed for me, is fully reciprocated on my part, and that it will at all times afford me sincere pleasure to renew those relations of friendship and courtesy that have been severed by the disbanding of the Battalion, either as brother soldiers serving our common country or as fellow citizens in

³ Journal History.

the more peaceful, but I trust not the less useful, walk of civil life.

I am sincerely your friend and servant,

J. D. STEVENSON,
Colonel commanding.

To Capt. JEFFERSON HUNT,
Mormon Battalion.

PRESIDENT BRIGHAM YOUNG TO THE MORMON
BATTALION ⁴

Camp of Israel
Valley of the Great Salt Lake,
Aug. 7, 1847.

To Capt. Jefferson Hunt and the officers and soldiers of the Mormon Battalion.

Brethren: As Capt. Brown and escort is about to leave this place for head quarters in California, we improve the opportunity of saying to you, that hitherto hath the Lord God of Israel blessed us and brought us to a goodly land, where we design to build a house unto his saints.

In the former part of April we left your families and friends at Winter Quarters (and vicinity), a city which we built last fall on the west bank of the Missouri river, nearly opposite the Liberty pole of your enlistment, consisting of more than 700 houses; and some of your families occupied some of the first that

⁴ Journal History.

were built, and your families were better supplied with houses, fuel and provisions than the families with us generally, and we say this to you at this time to comfort your hearts and not to boast of what we have done. We will let our boasting be till another day.

The pioneer company with us number 143 men. We arrived here, in this valley of the Great Salt Lake on the 22nd and 24th of July and the detachments of the "Mormon Battalion" from Pueblo arrived here on the 29th together with a company of saints from the Mississippi, and we now number about 450. Before leaving Winter Quarters we made every arrangement possible for our teams and wagons, and all those within our influence, to be sent on with your families as soon as the season would permit, and come to the place of our location. We have heard that they started in June and have sent back our messengers to pilot them to this place, and we expect them here in a few weeks. We do not know that every one of your families will come in this company; it is hardly to be expected; but if the brethren do as we have done, and we anticipate, they will do, a great many of them will be here. Therefore, when you receive this and learn of this location, it will be wisdom for you all, if you have got your discharge as we suppose, to come directly to this place, where you will learn particularly who is here, who not. If there are any men who have not families among your number, who desire to stop in California for a season, we do not feel to object; yet we do feel that it will be better for them to come directly to this place, for here will be our head quarters for the present, and our dwelling place as quick

as we can go and bring up our families, which we left behind this season for the purpose of bringing on yours, that you might meet them here; and we want to see you, even all of you, and talk with you, and throw our arms around you, and kill the fatted calf and make merry; yes, brethren, we want to rejoice with you once more. Come then and see us, and we will do you good, and we will show you a location which can not be beat upon the Pacific Ocean, and you shall have an inheritance in this goodly land. We do not suppose that you want any urging to come here, but we speak out of the fulness of our hearts.

We are making every exertion to prepare for the families that we expect immediately here and will spend but little time in writing to you now, as Capt. Brown can tell you a great deal more than can be written. Some few have passed by a new route to California called Hastings cut-off by the south border of the Salt Lake, but it is not a safe route on account of the long drive without water, and it is not wisdom for you to come that way. Brethren, cultivate the spirit of kindness and assistance one towards another, and do each other all the good you can, and be humble and prayerful, and show yourselves men of God wherever you may be and God will bless you.

Should this meet you in the southern part of California or should any circumstance prevent your returning previous to the approach of the cold weather, do not attempt to come by the north route, but come on the southern route.

Your arms, equipments, camp equipage, etc., you

will retain and bring with you, for you will need them all at this place.

We remain your brethren in behalf of the Council.

BRIGHAM YOUNG, president.

WILLARD RICHARDS, clerk.

HENRY W. BIGLER OF THE MORMON BATTALION TO
GEORGE A. SMITH ⁵

Truckee river, California, Sept. 6, 1847.

Dear Cousin: Jesse and I received your letters this morning and were glad to hear from you, that you was well, and sorry to hear of the misfortunes in your family. We are well at present, and we trust that as this leaves us, so it may find you. We are here in the wilderness, surrounded with lofty mountains, covered with snow. We crossed the main back bone of the California mountains on the 5th instant and found snow more than three feet deep and arrived in this valley where there is plenty of grass and water and encamped for the night more than 700 miles on our way to the Great Salt Lake from San Diego, where we were posted until our discharge, though we had to march 150 miles to Pueblo (Los Angeles), which was on our way, to get an honorable discharge. We have had some hard times, but our health has been good, poor beef without bread or salt to season it has been all the food we have had a good share of our time,

⁵ Journal History.

and not half enough of that; but since we have had plenty, and at no time have I felt sorry that I enlisted in American army. I felt all the time that I did right, and I still feel right, for I think we have fulfilled a mission which the Lord is pleased with, given by his servants the Twelve. Yesterday morning we met with Elder Brannan, who informed us that Capt. Brown would soon meet us. We then returned to this valley, as he said that the Captain had a letter of general instruction to the Battalion from the Twelve and await his arrival and also for Bro. Levi W. Hancock who is one day's march in the rear with the main camp, for we are only pioneers and Elisha Averett is our captain. Capt. Brown arrived here this morning. Bro. Hancock at 3 o'clock p.m. Letters were all read and Jesse and myself will return to the California settlements which is 150 miles back in the neighborhood of Sutter's Fort, as wages are good there, and fit ourselves out by spring, which seems to be the council at present, and return to Salt Lake. We had fitted out with some flour and two horses each and was in hopes of finding you in the great valley. Could we have gotten the word 10 days ago, it would have been much better; at least it would have saved some traveling; but we are willing to obey council, and like the sons of Jacob we will arise and go down to Egypt and buy corn and flour and cattle, etc., and return to the Lake in the spring, and we wish an interest in your prayers, that we may be blessed in health and strength. If you see my father, or any of the family, tell him that I am well and what I am about, and, if possible, I will send him a letter. I fear I cannot get paper. But Per-

haps you are close together and he can hear. I hope he is well. I was glad to hear from them by your letter.

HENRY W. BIGLER.

PRESIDENT BRIGHAM YOUNG TO CAPTAIN JEFFERSON
HUNT ⁶

SOUTH PASS, Sept. 9, 1847.

To Capt. JEFFERSON HUNT, JAMES BROWN or any officer of the Mormon Battalion who may have the right to discharge the command at the Great Salt Lake City.

Gentlemen: You are aware that many of the command have gone east on detached service and that Cap. Brown has gone west to procure their discharge; but since those events have transpired, we have learned of the return of Gen. Kearney from California. We have also learned by report that it is his wish that the command should be discharged and stated that who ever had the command had a perfect right to discharge that command. You are also aware of the very destitute situation of the soldiers and their families, and the winter is approaching, and they need all the means that is due them. Now, if the battalion that was in California have returned to your place and the officers have sufficient testimony that Capt. Brown will not succeed in getting their discharge and pay, let that officer who is authorized make out a discharge of those in command at your place and also those who have been dispatched to the States, and let their discharge

⁶ Journal History.

and orders of those who have gone east be forwarded to them at Winter Quarters by a special mail forthwith, or as quick as the emigrating companies shall arrive in the Basin; but if it shall be too late, so as to endanger life in crossing the mountains, let said mail be despatched as early as possible in the spring. By this course the soldiers and their families will get the most prompt relief. We shall get the earliest intelligence of the safe arrival of the saints, their situation and prospects, progress of vegetation in the Valley and many things that will tend to the general welfare of the Church; and in transacting this business, let all things be done according to the law of that government in whose service you are engaged. Those of the command now at your place can make out their papers in due form authorizing some one, who is coming with the mail, to draw their pay at Ft. Leavenworth, or where ever a paymaster may be found. Let a sufficient number come with the mail to protect each other and travel in safety with as light a burden and as rapid speed as possible.

For the council,

BRIGHAM YOUNG, president.

WILLARD RICHARDS, clerk.

LIEUTENANT W. T. SHERMAN TO [COLONEL J. D.
STEVENSON] ⁷

Head Quarters

Monterey, California, January 25, 1848.

Sir:

Your letter of January 12th, announcing the arrival

⁷ Journal History.

of Captain Hunt, has been received, and I am directed by Colonel Mason to inform you that he is at a loss to understand why Captain Hunt should say, that he was unable to bring into California a Battalion of his people because the terms proposed by Colonel Mason in August last were not sufficiently liberal.

Volunteers entering the Service of the United States are entitled to whatever pay, allowances and bounties may be provided for them by Congress, and the promises of no person whatever can increase or diminish these in the least—any apparent liberality must have been therefore in the law of Congress, but since the departure of Captain Hunt, in August last, we have received official information of the passage of several bills by Congress—that make the most liberal and munificent provision for the volunteer soldier. These laws are in our possession and Colonel Mason is willing to place the most liberal construction on them to favor the Battalion of Mormon volunteers, of whose former services he entertains so high an opinion. These laws and the orders of the War Department founded on them are in your possession and in conversation you can explain to him that every non-commissioned officer, musician and private of volunteers or militia is entitled to fifty cents in lieu of subsistence, and twenty five cents in lieu of forage for such as are mounted for every twenty miles by the most direct route, from the period of leaving their homes to the place of rendezvous, and from the place of discharge back to their home (see General Order No. 1, A. G. July 19th). When the volunteer reaches the place of rendezvous and is mustered into service,

his pay begins and does not cease until a sufficient time after his discharge—to enable him to return home at the rate of twenty miles a day, and during the period of his services he is subsisted and if sick well cared for at the expense of the Government; also for every month he serves the volunteer soldier draws the sum of three dollars and fifty cents for his clothing, and finally when discharged he receives warrant for 100 acres of land, or, if he prefer it, Treasury Scrip for one hundred dollars, bearing six per cent interest payable semiannually. (See General Orders No. 17, dated Washington, April 15, 1847.) At no previous period of our History have such munificent provisions been made for our army.

You may inform Captain Hunt that the laws of Congress are thus liberal now, and that Colonel Mason is still willing to receive into the service of the United States—a Battalion of Mormon volunteers, to be Commanded by Captain Hunt, or in case he does not wish it, then such other person as may be properly elected by them. This Battalion should consist of one Major and acting Adjutant selected from the subalterns of the companies (see page 4 General orders No. 14, dated Washington March 27, 1847), one sergeant Major, one quarter master sergeant and a chief musician (see Sec. 3 Act of Congress, approved June 15, 1846) and four companies each of one captain, one First Lieutenant, two 2nd lieutenants, four sergeants, four corporals, two musicians (drummer and fife) and seventy-five privates.

Colonel Mason desires that such a Battalion should rendezvous at Los Angeles, California, as early in

April as possible, when they will be mustered and accepted into the service of the United States to serve "during the War" and to be entitled to all the pay and allowances that are now or may hereafter be provided by law.

Colonel Mason designs this Battalion for service in the Bay of San Francisco, to relieve the three companies of your Regiment now there, who may be sent to Lieut. Col. Burton, in lower California. These should be dispatched early in June, if not before, and for that reason the sooner the Battalion of Mormons arrive, the better. Please mention this to Captain Hunt, that if he agrees to bring into California such a Battalion, he may do so in time, for relief to be sent to Lieut. Col. Burton, before the squadron is completely withdrawn from the Gulf of California.

The instructions of the war department require some fortifications to be constructed at the bay of San Francisco; as yet nothing has been done there, and the heavy ordnance lies where it was first landed. It is designed to place some of these guns in position during the coming year, and if any part of the Mormon Battalion is employed in constructing such fort. You may assure Captain Hunt, that every man actually employed in such work shall receive 18 cents for each days labor in addition to his other pay and allowances.

In relation to entrusting a mail to Mr. Rockwell for the United States I am directed to say, that at this time there is not sufficient necessity to make up a public mail for the United States—I send, however, one package addressed to the Adjutant General of the

army, Washington, D. C., which Col. Mason directs to be entrusted to Mr. Rockwell, who will be paid by the Acting Quarter Master at Los Angeles whatever may be considered by him sufficient compensation for delivering said package at any Post office in the United States.

Be pleased to communicate, at the earliest moment, the result of your interview with Captain Hunt.

I have the honor to be with much respect your obedient servant,

W. T. SHERMAN,
1st Lieut. 3rd Adjt.

COLONEL STEVENSON TO CAPTAIN HUNT ⁸

Head Quarters S. M. Dist. California,
Los Angeles, Feb. 8, 1848.

Sir: I am instructed by Col R. B. Mason, Col. 1st, U. S. Dragoons, commanding 10th Military Department, to authorize you to raise a Battalion of Mormon Volunteers for service in California. I enclose you a certified copy of those instructions which will serve you as a guide in enrolling the Battalion, as well as for the information of your people as to the precise terms upon which they enter the service of the U.S.

As it will be impossible for you to reach here with the Battalion, should you succeed in enrolling one, as early in April as Col. Mason desires, you will use

⁸ Journal History.

every effort in your power to reach here at the earliest possible moments thereafter.

Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant

J. D. STEVENSON,
Col. 14th N. Y. Regiment, commanding S. M. District.
Captain JEFFERSON HUNT.

COLONEL J. D. STEVENSON TO PRESIDENT BRIGHAM
YOUNG ⁹

Head Quarters S. M. Dist. California,
Cuidad de Los Angeles,
February 8, 1848.

Sir:

I have been directed by Col. R. B. Mason, 1st Regt. U. S. Dragoons Commanding 10th Military Department and Governor of California, to authorize Captain Jefferson Hunt to raise a Volunteer Battalion of Mormons for service in California during the existing War with Mexico. I send you a copy of these instructions to me, by which you will perceive the liberal terms he authorizes me to propose as well as the high opinion he entertains of the services of your people who are now and who have heretofore been in the service of the U. S. in the Military Department. The terms he authorizes me to propose are now more liberal than any heretofore allowed to any Volunteers entering the service of the U. S., and I cannot doubt

⁹ Manuscript History of Brigham Young.

but the good sense of yourself and people will perceive as well the liberality of those terms as the great advantage that must result to your community by accepting them and at once enrolling a Battalion of Volunteers.

The distance of this country from the thickly populated parts of the U. S. will, at all times, render the march, or transportation of soldiers (by sea) for the defence and protection of the American authorities here, long, tedious and expensive, and these difficulties will be peculiarly felt immediately upon the close of the existing War, when the Regiment under my Command have a right to claim their discharge, thus leaving the country defenceless for some time, unless a sufficient force can be temporarily raised within the Territory to supply their place, and this I look upon as impracticable in the existing state of its population, unless indeed your people place themselves in the first rank. I am advised by such of your people as I have talked with that the chief object of your emigration to the country is to secure a home where you can, without interruption, worship God and live according to the dictates of your own conscience, and to avoid those persecutions which have been so unsparingly and, as you conceive, so unjustly heaped upon you. That as a community you have been most severely persecuted there can be no doubt; and that much of the prejudice and persecution to which you have been subjected has arisen from the ignorance of the people among whom you resided and of the general character of your people; and permit me to say that I believe such prejudice will ever exist in any community against

a people who shut themselves out from any association with the world in which they live, and I need no stronger evidence to prove the truth of the opinion than the case of your own people in this Territory. The battalion, under the Command of Col. Cooke, arrived at San Diego in the month of January, 1847, and I am assured from the best authority, that there was a universal feeling of indignation among the people of the country, native as well as foreigner, against the U. S. for receiving your people in the service, and for a long time after I resumed the command of this District in May last this same prejudice existed so strongly, that the inhabitants of this town absolutely shunned your people when they met them in the streets, and this prejudice existed as well among the intelligent and respectable as the ignorant and vulgar. Previous to my assuming the command here I had received from Major Cloud, the Honorable Mr. Hall [W. P.], member of Congress from Missouri, and others intimately acquainted with your people who compose the Battalion in service, such a character of them for fidelity, integrity and strict obedience to the orders of their officers that I came here strongly impressed with a favorable opinion of them. These recommendations and my own subsequent observations enable me at, all time to combat the prejudices of those with whom it was my daily custom to mingle and who subsequently, by cultivating a more general acquaintance with the officers and soldiers of the Battalion stationed here soon became satisfied that their prejudices were wrong and had been excited without justifiable causes, and at the time the Battalion was dis-

banded there was a general feeling of regret in this town, as well among the inhabitants as the officers and soldiers stationed here, at their departure. Before the disbanding of the Battalion in July last, I had occasion to visit all the prominent places in this District, from Santa Barbara to San Diego, and I assure you that I everywhere found a strong feeling of respect entertained for your people among the native and foreign population of the country and an earnest desire expressed that they should be retained in service during the War and finally become permanent residents of this section of country, and hence, as Captain Hunt and the other officers of the Battalion will tell you, my desire to have them retained in service. I have made the same efforts to retain in the service the company now under the command of Capt. Davis and posted at San Diego, but to no effect; they claim and will receive their discharge on the 1st of March. By this plain statement of facts you will perceive the great advantages your community have derived from the mingling of those that have been in the service with citizens of this country, and how soon, in consequence of such associations, the mist of prejudice against your whole people has been dispelled. I therefore ask you, if it is not a matter of the utmost importance to the future peace and happiness of your community, that this feeling of respect and regard for them (acquired by their own correct deportment while mingling with the people of this new country among whom should they and their progeny for generations must reside) should be continued and I would further ask, if any more effectual means can be used to pre-

serve and perpetuate it, than by acting as their guardians and protectors as well, against Indian depredations as domestic insurrections, and perhaps at no distant day against the attack of a foreign foe under the Banner of our common country; In addition to these considerations, this part of California possesses great and peculiar advantages for large settlements especially for such as are formed into communities or associations like yours, and if your people desire to form a settlement nearer the sea coast, and a market [?]. . . than the Salt Lake in my opinion no part of California presents greater advantages to the industrious emigrant than this. The soil is fertile, water accessible and the market good for all agricultural productions. These advantages are, in my judgment, worthy of the serious considerations of a people so alive to their own interest as yours and should form a powerful inducement, in addition to the other suggestions I have made, why an effort should be made by you and the other principal men of your community, to furnish from among you a Battalion of volunteers for service in this country. I have not the pleasure of your acquaintance and lest you may suppose me to be actuated in making these representations by a desire to augment the force of my command and thereby increase my own importance rather than the wish to secure the permanent tranquility, happiness and prosperity of the country and secure the usefulness of your people to this section of country, I refer you to Captain Hunt and the other officers of the late Mormon Battalion for their opinion of my character, for sincerity, and plain dealings, and by that I beg you to

judge of the sincerity of the opinions I have thus frankly given you of what I conceive to be for the best interest of this section of California in connection with your people.

Very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

J. D. STEVENSON,

Co. 1st N. Y. Regiment, Commanding S. M. District.

Mr. BRIGHAM YOUNG

City of the Salt Lake.

MR. ISAAC WILLIAMS TO PRESIDENT BRIGHAM YOUNG ¹⁰

Rancho De Chino, February 15, 1848

To President Young and Counsel: I take the liberty of addressing you a few lines, concerning the situation of the Government at the present time, by the entreaty of Capt. Hunt and several gentlemen connected with your Church.

I am intimately acquainted with Col. Stevenson and most of the officers under his command and are all extremely anxious to depart for the South.

The Governor has order to raise 2000 men by the first of June to send south for the purpose of fortifying the southern posts, which are now in the possession of the American forces. Could you send 500 men to California by that time. You will without doubt be well received, and have a Territory of about 700 miles to your sole command, by the wishes of the Governor

¹⁰ Journal History.

and the few people in this quarter, I can with the utmost confidence say that from the acquaintance your people have made in this country all that is necessary for you and your people is to manage as they have done and I am under the impression you will find a hospitable home for yourself and all your people hereafter.

I am, Gentlemen, Your obedient servant,

ISAAC WILLIAMS.¹¹

CAPTAIN JESSE D. HUNTER TO PRESIDENT BRIGHAM
YOUNG¹²

San Louis Rey, Feb. 20, 1848.

PRESIDENT YOUNG & COUNCIL:

Dear Sirs: I deem it my duty, as also a privilege, to let you know the precise situation of this country at this time both as regards its Government, local situations, as well as the feeling of the people towards our people. The only troops now in this country is Col. Stevenson Regiment of New York Volunteers and our company of Dragoons, besides Capt. Davis Company, at San Diego, The Volunteers will be discharged at the close of the War. But the worst trouble is, they or some of the troops are called upon to go the south, and the governor is very anxious that the Mormons should raise another Battalion to garri-

¹¹ Williams, native of New York, came to California in 1832, married into the Lugo family, acquired the Chino ranch, and died there in 1856.

¹² Journal History.

son this country. I have conversed with him upon the subject in August last and have received communications since expressing his wish that we would settle in California. He said also, we should have the privilege to garrison all upper California and would be in a short time the only forces left in this country. As regards the feelings of the people, with the exception of a few about the bay, there is not a man, woman or child, but would rejoice at the very idea of our settling this country. It has a fine climate and fertile soil. Though the land is mostly owned by individuals, yet it can be purchased on reasonable terms. I am well aware that we will have to have a trading point on the coast, and from all I can learn the governor is willing that we should have the entire control of this country. . . . I am still acting as agent for the Indians, having also the charge of San Louis Rey, and the Pala Farm which keeps me very busy. I am in hopes I will hear from you soon. When Brother Lathrop and his party arrived here and delivered unto us the Epistle of the council at the lake we gladly received their counsel. But as circumstances always alter cases, and we have been so strongly solicited to use our influence in favor of raising another Mormon force to defend this country, we have not only consented to this, but have concluded to try and influence Capt. Davis and his company to remain in service until they can hear from you.

I have an extensive influence among the Indians here; my word is their law, but if I should be left here alone without any backing, I am aware that jeal-

ousy would arise and that that influence which we have gained in this country would be lost. I believe also that if we should refuse to help them at this time that jealousies would arise, and perhaps we may be troubled or interrupted in our trade upon the coast, if it should be garrisoned by them instead of us. Here are the feelings of my mind and after laying these things before you, I will leave it with you, believing that it will all work right.

Remaining Yours as ever,

JESSE D. HUNTER.

LIEUTENANT W. T. SHERMAN TO LIEUTENANT
W. H. WARNER ¹³

Head Quarters 10 Mile Department.
Monterey, California, Feb. 27, 1848.

Sir: Your letter of the 14th inst. was received yesterday by the hand of the carrier, and Col. Mason was disappointed to learn that the Mormons are not willing to leave Upper California.

You will, however, convey to Captain Hunt, Col. Mason's willingness still to receive into the service of the United States for Upper California, a Battalion of his people to consist of three companies, each of 100 men, provided he will use his best endeavors to bring them into the country as soon as possible.

By the time Captain Hunt reaches the settlements

¹³ Journal History.

of the Mormons and obtains an interview with their principal men, the winter will have passed, and the Sierra Nevadas will offer no serious obstacle to the passage of men direct to San Francisco, from the Great Salt Lake, and since the Mormons will not consent to go to Lower California, Colonel Mason designs that the three companies called for should replace those of the New York regiment now garrisoning Sonoma and the Presidio of San Francisco, so that they may be dispatched for service at the south.

You are aware of the importance of time, and Col. Mason wishes you to convey to Captain Hunt his wish that a messenger should be dispatched to Monterey from the Great Salt Lake, with a report of the strength of the Mormon Battalion, and the probable time of their arrival in California, that in anticipation of such arrival the companies of New York volunteers may be sent south at the earliest moment possible.

Captain Hunt will recognize this proposition as nearly the same made him a few days before your arrival at Los Angeles, and details of which are given in a letter addressed to Col. J. D. Stevenson from this office on the 25th January 1848, to which you are respectfully referred, the only difference being that the Battalion should come direct across the mountains to San Francisco, instead of losing time by the more circuitous route of Los Angeles—also this Battalion should consent to serve “during the war” instead of one year, as their discharge at the end of twelve months would leave the neighborhood of San

Francisco without any guard, in consequence of the detachment (proposia?) of the present garrisons.

For the reasons assigned in your letter of the 14th instant, you need not go to the Salt Lake, but will return to Monterey.

I have the honor to be

Your most obedient servant,

W. T. SHERMAN

1st Lieutenant, 3rd Artillery S. S. S. Gen.

To Lieut. W. H. WARNER,
Los Angeles, Cal.

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THE MORMON BATTALION

P. St. George Cooke,
Lt. Col. U. S. A.
Andrew J. Smith,
George Stoneman,
Lieutenants U. S. A.

James Allen,
Captain U. S. A.
Wm. L. McIntire,
George W. Sanderson,
Asst. Surgeons U. S. A.

COMPANY A

OFFICERS

Jefferson Hunt, Captain
George W. Oman, 1st Lieut.
Lorenzo Clark, 2nd Lieut.
Wm. M. Willis, 3rd Lieut.
James Ferguson, Sergt.-Major
James H. Glines, Sergt.-Major
Phinehas R. Wright, 1st Sergt.
Ebenezer Brown, 2nd Sergt.

Reddick N. Allred, 3rd Sergt.
Alexander McCord, 4th Sergt.
Gilbert Hunt, 1st Corp.
Lafayette N. Frost, 2nd Corp.
Thomas Weir, 3rd Corp.
Wm. S. Muir, 4th Corp.
Elisha Averett, Musician
Joseph W. Richards, Musician

PRIVATES

Allen, Albern
Allen, James
Allen, Rufus C.
Allred, James R.
Allred, James T. S.
Allred, Reuben W.
Bailey, James
Beckstead, Gordon S.
Beckstead, Orin M.
Bevan, James
Bickmore, Gilbert
Blanchard, Mervin S.
Brass, Benjamin
Bronson, Clinton D.
Brown, John
Brown, Wm. W.

Bryan, J.
Bryant, John S.
Butterfield, Jacob K.
Calkins, Alva C.
Calkins, Edwin R.
Calkins, James W.
Calkins, Sylvanus
Casper, Wm. W.
Chase, Hyrum B.
Clark, Joseph
Clark, Riley G.
Coleman, George
Cox, Henderson
Curtis, Josiah
Decker Zachariah B.
Dobson, Joseph

Dodson, Eli
Earl, James C.
Egbert, Robert C.
Fairbanks, Henry
Frederick, David
Garner, David
Goodwin, Andrew
Gordon, Gilman
Hampton, James
Hawkins, Benjamin
Hewet, Eli B.
Hickenlooper, Wm. F.
Holden, Elijah E.
Hoyt, Henry P.
Hoyt, Timothy S.
Hudson, Wilford
Hulet, Schuyler
Hunt, Marshall
Ivie, Richard A.
Jackson, Charles A.
Johnson, Henry
Kelley, Nicholas
Kelley, Wm.
Kibbey, James
Lake, Barnabas
Lemmon, James W.
Maxwell, Maxie
Mayfield, Benjamin F.
Moss, David

Naegle, John Conrad
Oyler, Melcher
Packard, Henry
Pierson, Ebenezer L.
Ritter, John
Rowe, Cariatat C.
Sessions, John
Sessions, Richard
Sessions, Wm. B.
Sexton, George S.
Shepherd, Marcus L.
Steele, George E.
Steele, Isaiah C.
Swarthout, Hamilton
Taylor, Joseph
Thompson, John C.
Vrandenburg, Adna
Weaver, Franklin
Weaver, Miles
Webb, Charles Y.
Wheeler, Merrill W.
White, Joseph
White, Samuel S.
Willey, Jeremiah
Wilson, Alfred C.
Winn, Dennis W.
Woodworth, Lysander
Wriston, Isaac N.
Wriston, John P.

COMPANY B

OFFICERS

Jesse D. Hunter, Captain
Elam Luddington, 1st Lieut.
Ruel Barrus, 2nd Lieut.
Philemon C. Merrill, 3rd Lieut.
Wm. Coray, 1st Sergt.
Wm. Hyde, 2nd Sergt.
Albert Smith, 3rd Sergt.

Ephraim Green, 4th Sergt.
David P. Rainey, 1st Corp.
Thomas J. Dunn, 2nd Corp.
John D. Chase, 3rd Corp.
Edward Wilcox, 4th Corp.
Wm. Hunter, Musician
George W. Taggart, Musician

PRIVATES

Alexander, Horace M.	Harris, Silas
Allen, Elijah	Hawk, Nathan
Allen, Franklin	Hawk, Wm.
Allen, George	Hinckley, Arza E.
Bigler, Henry W.	Hoffheims, Jacob
Billings, Orson	Hunter, Edward
Bingham, Erastus	Huntsman, Isaiah
Bingham, Thomas	Jones, David H.
Bird, Wm.	Keysor, Guy M.
Bliss, Robert S.	King, John H.
Boley, Samuel	Kirk, Thomas
Borrowman, John	Lawson, John
Brackenberry, Benj. B.	Martin, Jesse B.
Brown, Francis	McCarty, Nelson
Bush, Richard	Miles, Samuel
Bybee, John M.	Morris, Thomas
Callahan, Thomas W.	Mount, Hiram B.
Camp, James G.	Murdock, John R.
Carter, Isaac Philo	Murdock, Orrice C.
Carter, Richard	Myers, Samuel
Cheney, Zacheus	Noler, Christian
Church, Haden W.	Owens, Robert
Clark, George S.	Park, James P. 1st
Clawson, George	Park, James P. 2nd
Colton, Philander	Pierson, Ephraim
Curtis, Dorr P.	Pierson, Harmon D.
Dalton, Henry S.	Prouse, Wm. C.
Dayton, Wm. J.	Reed, Calvin
Dayton, Willard T.	Richards, Peter F.
Dunham, Albert	Rogers, Samuel H.
Dutcher, Thomas P.	Simmons, Wm. A.
Eastman, Marcus N.	Sly, James C.
Evans, Israel	Smith, Azariah
Evans, Wm.	Steers, Andrew J.
Fife, Peter M.	Stevens, Lyman
Follett, Wm. A.	Stillman, Dexter
Freeman, Elijah N.	Stoddard, Rufus
Garner, Philip	Study, David
Garner, Wm. A.	Walker, Wm. H.
Hanks, Ephraim K.	Watts, John
Haskell, George W.	Wheeler, John L.

Whitney, Francis T.
Wilcox, Henry
Willis, Ira J.
Willis, W. S. S.
Winters, Jacob

Workman, Andrew J.
Workman, Oliver G.
Wright, Charles
Young, Nathan
Zabriskie, Jerome

COMPANY C

OFFICERS

James Brown, Captain
George W. Rosecrans, 1st Lieut.
Samuel Thompson, 2nd Lieut.
Robert Clift, 3rd Lieut.
Orson B. Adams, 1st Sergt.
Elijah Elmer, 2nd Sergt.
Joel J. Terrell, 3rd Sergt.

David Wilkin, 4th Sergt.
Jabez Nowlin, 1st Corp.
Alexander Brown, 2nd Corp.
Edward Martin, 3rd Corp.
Daniel Tyler, 4th Corp.
Richard D. Sprague, Musician
Ezra H. Allen, Musician

PRIVATES

Adair, George Wesley
Babcock, Lorenzo
Bailey, Addison
Bailey, Jefferson
Barney, Walter
Beckstead, Wm. E.
Blackburn, Abner
Boyle, Henry G.
Brimhall, John
Brown, Jesse J.
Brownell, Russell G.
Burt, Wm.
Bybee, Henry G.
Bush, W.
Calvert, John
Carpenter, Isaac
Carpenter, Wm. H.
Catlin, George W.
Clift, James
Condit, Jephtha
Covil, John Q. A.
Dalton, Edward
Dalton, Harry

Dodge, Augustus E.
Donald, Neal
Dunn, James
Durphy, Francillo
Fellows, Hiram W.
Fife, John
Fifield, Levi
Forbush, Lorin
Gibson, Thomas
Gould, John C.
Gould, Samuel J.
Green, John
Hancock, Charles B.
Hancock, George W.
Harmon, Ebenezer
Harmon, Lorenzo F.
Hatch, Meltair
Hatch, Orin
Hendrickson, Abram
Hendrickson, James
Holdaway, Shadrach
Holman, C.
Holt, Wm.

Hulse, Lewis
 Ivie, Thomas C.
 Johnson, Jarvis
 Johnston, Jesse W.
 Johnston, Wm. J.
 Jois, Thomas C.
 Landers, Ebenezer
 Larson, Thurston
 Layton, Christopher
 Lewis, Samuel
 Maggard, Benjamin
 Mead, Orlando F.
 McCullough, Levi H.
 Moore, Calvin W.
 Mowrey, Harley
 Mowrey, John T.
 Myler, James
 Olmstead, Hiram
 Owen, J.
 Parke, George
 Peck, Isaac
 Peck, Thorit
 Perkins, David M.
 Perkins, John
 Pickup, George
 Pierson, Judson A.
 Pulsipher, David

Reynolds, Wm.
 Richie, Benjamin
 Richmond, Benjamin
 Riser, John J.
 Rust, Wm. W.
 Shipley, Joseph
 Shumway, Aurora
 Shupe, Andrew J.
 Shupe, James W.
 Smith, Milton
 Smith, Richard D.
 Squires, Wm.
 Steele, Wm.
 Thomas, Elijah
 Thomas, Nathan T.
 Thompson, James L.
 Tindell, Solomon
 Truman, Jacob M.
 Tuttle, Elanson
 Wade, Edward D.
 Wade, Moses
 Welsh, Madison
 Wheeler, Henry
 White, John S.
 Whitworth, Robert
 Wilcox, Matthew
 Wood, Wm.

COMPANY D

OFFICERS

Nelson Higgins, Captain
 George P. Dykes, 1st Lieut.
 Sylvester Hulett, 2nd Lieut.
 Cyrus C. Canfield, 3rd Lieut.
 Nathaniel V. Jones, 1st Sergt.
 Thomas S. Williams, 2nd Sergt.
 Luther Tuttle, 3rd Sergt.
 Alpheus Haws, 4th Sergt.

Arnold Stephens, 1st Corp.
 John Buchanan, 2nd Corp.
 Wm. Coons, 3rd Corp.
 Lewis Lane, 4th Corp.
 Silas G. Hovey, Musician
 Henry W. Jackson, Musician
 Willard G. Smith, Musician

PRIVATES

Abbott, Joshua
Averett, Jeduthan
Badlam, Samuel
Barger, Wm. W.
Boyd, George W.
Boyd, Wm. W.
Brizee, Henry W.
Brown, James P.
Brown, James S.
Button, Montgomery
Casto, James B.
Casto, Wm. W.
Chase, Abner
Clawson, John R.
Cole, James B.
Collins, Robert H.
Compton, Allen
Cox, Amos
Curtis, Foster
Davis, Eleazer
Davis, James
Davis, Sterling
Douglas, James
Douglas, Ralph
Fatoute, Ezra
Finlay, Thomas
Fletcher, Philander
Forsgren, John E.
Frazier, Thomas L.
Gifford, Wm.
Gilbert, John
Gilbert, R.
Gilbert, Thomas
Gribble, Wm.
Hayward, Thomas
Hendricks, Wm. D.
Henrie, Daniel
Higgins, Alfred
Hirons, James P.
Hoaglund, Lucas
Holmes, Jonathan H.

Hunsaker, Abraham
Huntington, Dimick B.
Jacobs, Sanford
Kenney, Loren E.
Lamb, Lisbon
Laughlin, David S.
McArthur, Henry
Maxwell, Wm. B.
Meacham, Erastus D.
Merrill, Ferdinand
Mesick, Peter I.
Oakley, James
Owen, James
Peck, Edwin M.
Perrin, Charles
Pettegrew, James P.
Rawson, Daniel B.
Raymond, Alonzo P.
Richmond, Wm.
Roberts, Benjamin
Robinson, Wm.
Rollins, John
Rowe, Wm.
Roylance, John
Runyan, Levi
Sanderson, Henry W.
Sargent, Abel M.
Savage, Levi
Sharp, Albert
Sharp, Norman
Shelton, Sebert C.
Smith, John G.
Spencer, Wm. W.
Steele, John
Stephens, Alexander
Stewart, Benjamin
Stewart, James
Stewart, Robert B.
Stillman, Clark
Swarthout, Nathan
Tanner, Myron

Thomas, Hayward
 Thompson, Henry
 Thompson, Miles
 Tippetts, John H.
 Treat, Thomas
 Tubbs, Wm. R.

Twitchel, Anciel
 Walker, Edwin
 Whiting, Almon
 Whiting, Edmond
 Woodward, Francis

COMPANY E

OFFICERS

Daniel C. Davis, Captain
 James Pace, 1st Lieut.
 Andrew Lytle, 2nd Lieut.
 Samuel L. Gully, 3rd Lieut.
 Edmund L. Brown, 1st Sergt.
 Richard Brazier, 2nd Sergt.
 Ebenezer Hanks, 3rd Sergt.
 Daniel Browett, 4th Sergt.

Martin Ure, 1st Corp.
 Stephen M. St. John, 2nd Corp.
 John V. Binley, 3rd Corp.
 Roswell Stephens, 4th Corp.
 James A. Scott, Corp. (died)
 Levi W. Hancock, Musician
 Jesse Earl, Musician

PRIVATES

Allen, John
 Bates, Joseph W.
 Beers, Wm.
 Biddome, Wm.
 Bentley, John
 Brown, Daniel
 Buckley, Newman
 Bunker, Edward
 Burns, Thomas R.
 Caldwell, Matthew
 Campbell, Jonathan
 Campbell, Samuel
 Cazier, James
 Cazier, John
 Chapin, Samuel
 Clark, Albert
 Clark, Samuel G.
 Cox, John
 Cummings, George
 Davis, Walter L.
 Day, Abraham

Dennett, Daniel Q.
 Dyke, Simeon
 Earl, Jacob
 Earl, Justice C.
 Ewell, John M.
 Ewell, Martin F.
 Ewell, Wm.
 Findley, John
 Follett, Wm. T.
 Fornay, Frederick
 Glazier, Luther W.
 Harmon, Oliver N.
 Harris, Robert
 Harrison, Isaac
 Harrison, Israel
 Hart, James S.
 Hess, John W.
 Hickmott, John
 Hopkins, Charles A.
 Hoskins, Henry
 Houston, John

Howells, T. C. D.	Roberts, Levi
Howells, Wm.	Sanders, Richard T.
Jacobs, Bailey	Scott, James R.
Jameson, Charles	Scott, Leonard M.
Judd, Hiram	Skeen, Joseph
Judd, Zadock K.	Slater, Richard
Karren, Thomas	Smith, David
Kelley, George	Smith, Elisha
Kelley, Milton	Smith, John
Knapp, Albert	Smith, Lot
Lance, Wm.	Smith, Luther
McBride, Harlum	Snyder, John
McLelland, Wm. C.	Spidle, John
Miller, Daniel	Standage, Henry
Miller, Miles	Strong, Wm.
Park, Wm. A.	Tanner, Albert
Pettegrew, David	Ure, Wm.
Phelps, Alva	West, Benjamin
Pixton, Robert	Whitworth, Wm.
Porter, Sanford	Williams, James V.
Pugmire, Jonathan, Jr.	Wilson, George D.
Richardson, J.	Woolsey, Thomas
Richardson, Thomas	

WOMEN WHO MADE THE ENTIRE JOURNEY:

SUSAN, wife of Captain Davis
LYDIA, wife of Captain Hunter
PHOEBE, wife of Sergeant Brown
MELISSA, wife of Sergeant Coray

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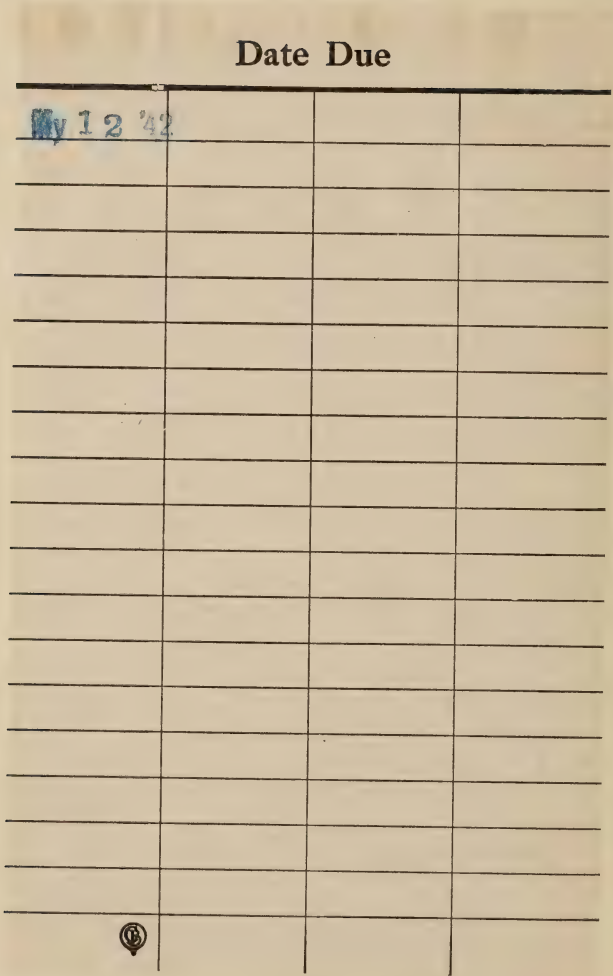
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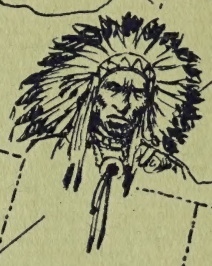
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C A



CALIFORNIA

WYOMING

SALT LAKE CITY

UTAH

COLORADO

LOS ANGELES

ARIZONA

SAN DIEGO

TUCSON

SANTA FE

NEW MEXICO

MEXICO



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the CALIFORNIA
TRADE

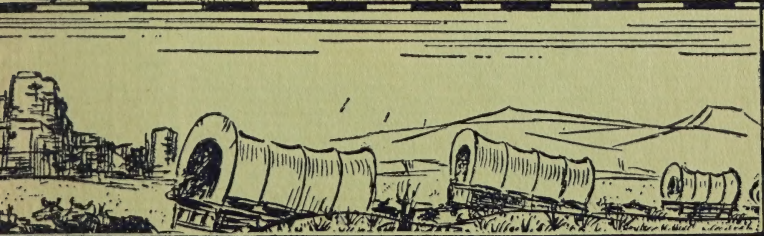


A D A D

A Map of the PIONEER and MORMON Battalion Routes

Pioneers ■■■

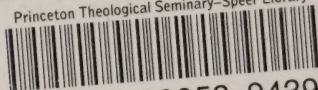
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